A DUAL EXILE?

NEW ZEALAND AND THE COLONIAL WRITING WORLD, 1890-1945

Helen K. Bones

A thesis submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in History

at the University of Canterbury

March 2011

University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

Contents

Index of tables

Acknowledgements

This research was undertaken with the invaluable financial assistance provided by a University of Canterbury Doctoral Scholarship. Concurrently with this, I was the inaugural recipient of the Edward Gibbon Wakefield Doctoral Scholarship in 2008 which allowed me to spend a year as a Visiting Graduate Student at Christ Church, Oxford. This scholarship was endowed to honour the memory of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and his descendants and their role in the founding of the Canterbury Settlement. The scholarship also recognises the ties between Christ Church, Oxford and Christchurch, New Zealand. My deepest thanks go to the Wakefield Trust and the Canterbury Association for allowing me this opportunity. Thank you also to the members of the House, in particular the Graduate Common Room, for contributing to what was an amazing year.

I consulted the archives and books of many collections throughout this enterprise, from the British Library to the Hocken Collection, and encountered many helpful librarians and archivists. In particular I would like to acknowledge the help of the staff of the Macmillan Brown Library who continued to cheerfully supply my many obscure requests throughout job uncertainties and the aftermath of earthquakes.

Most vital to the successful completion of this thesis was the extensive and tireless help of my supervisors, Dr Chris Connolly and Professor Patrick Evans. Patrick inspired an interest in New Zealand literature from my first year at university, and continued this expert guidance in all things literary throughout the course of this project. Chris spent many hours distilling the essence of my ideas and informing me what it was I was actually trying to say on many occasions. I would also like to acknowledge my colleagues in History at the University of Canterbury, staff and postgraduate students—it has been a very difficult few years including renovations, restructuring and earthquakes but the support and encouragement from all sides has never wavered.

Finally, thank you to my flatmates, family and friends (particularly my team of proofreaders) for putting up with me these few years and supporting or distracting me when necessary!

Abstract

It is commonly thought that New Zealand writers before World War II suffered from a "dual exile". In New Zealand, they were exiled far from the publishing opportunities and cultural stimulus of metropolitan centres. To succeed as writers they were forced to go overseas, where they endured a second kind of spiritual exile, far from home. They were required to give up their "New Zealandness" in order to achieve literary success, yet never completely belonged in the metropolitan centres to which they had gone. They thus became permanent exiles.

This thesis aims to discover the true prevalence of "dual exile" amongst early twentieth-century New Zealand writers. Using both quantitative and qualitative analysis, it argues that the hypothesis of "dual exile" is a myth propagated since the 1930s by New Zealand's cultural nationalist tradition. New Zealand writers were not exiles because of the existence of the "colonial writing world"—a system of cultural diffusion, literary networks and personal interactions that gave writers access to all the cultural capital of Britain through lines of communication established by colonial expansion. Those who went to Britain remained connected to New Zealand through these same networks. The existence of the colonial writing world meant that the physical location of the writer, whether in New Zealand or overseas, had far less impact on literary success than the cultural nationalists assumed.

Introduction

Historians and literary critics over the years have been all too easily seduced by the notion that early twentieth-century New Zealand was a cultural vacuum. They have accused New Zealand's Pākehā inhabitants of having only a watered down version of British culture, with no definable culture they could call their own. This supposedly caused difficulties for those absorbed in the task of writing about New Zealand, for the British literary tradition did not give them the words and concepts required to express New Zealand attitudes and describe the New Zealand environment. All their efforts achieved, according to the writer and critic Allen Curnow, was "colonial fragment and fantasy", and the land remained "like the America of Robert Frost's poem, 'unstoried, artless, unenhanced'".[1] This cultural emptiness forced writers to leave or risk being forever condemned to pen derivations of British writing with perhaps mention of a tui for local reference.

As the story continues, the solution, or at least the identification of the problem, is said to have come in the 1930s with the arrival on the scene of a group of writers who roundly dismissed the dominant, imported culture as "inauthentic". This group has been called the "Phoenix generation" by Patrick Evans, because of its association with the journal *Phoenix*, which was created by members of the Auckland University College Literary Club in 1932. *Phoenix* was said to encompass the aims of "cultural nationalism",[2] an ideology that required the pursuit of autochthony in art and literature. Its major advocate in New Zealand in the late 1930s and 1940s was Allen

[1] Allen Curnow, "Introduction", *A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-1945* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1945), p. 21. Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1959), p. 300.
[2] Patrick Evans, *Penguin History of New Zealand Literature* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), p. 76. The protagonists of the "Phoenix" group were Curnow, Denis Glover, Charles Brash, R. A. K. Mason, A. R. D. Fairburn and Frank Sargeson.

Curnow, who expressed a wish to promote and create original writing "as immediate in experience as the island soil under his feet".[3] His theories of literature, which were spelt out in his introduction to the 1945 *Book of New Zealand Verse*, saw the project of New Zealand writing as addressing a single issue: how to write about a previously "unstoried" land and relate to it on an intellectual level.[4] The creation of derivative versions of British literary models was something the cultural nationalists saw as a barrier to "authenticity".

The writers and critics of the late 1930s dismissed pre-nationalist expressions of culture because of their lack of "authenticity". When Curnow and his followers applied to New Zealand writers tests of literary purity based on the nationalist paradigm, a lot of perfectly legitimate literary creations, some with considerable literary merit, were dismissed and consigned to the wastes of history. By removing all the evidence of previous efforts and, in the words of Patrick Evans, "sweeping away any proto-nationalism that the Maoriland phenomenon might be argued to represent" it was as if "they had come to a completely empty land",[5] a land ready to receive their literary interpretation of it. All the writings that did not fit into this narrow vision were rejected; thus only a fraction of New Zealand literature was considered important enough to be included in the influential treatises on the country's literary history that were written in the 1940s. The most significant of these, along with Curnow's 1945 offering, were Eric McCormick's *Letters and Art in New Zealand* and Monte Holcroft's *The Deepening Stream*.[6] Inclusion was not necessarily just a reflection of

[3] Curnow (1945), p. 17.
[4] The phrase "the bright unstoried waters" appeared in "The Ancient People", a poem by Jessie Mackay: "The Ancient People", *From the Maori Sea* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1904), p. 17.
[5] Patrick Evans, *The Long Forgetting* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2007), p. 137.
[6] Eric McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940); Monte Holcroft, *The Deepening Stream* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1940). McCormick, though more catholic in his treatment of New Zealand authors, was still strongly literary nationalist in his outlook.

the quality of writing, either, as D'Arcy Cresswell appeared in the canon, despite his largely unimpressive poetry,[7] merely because his poetic aims matched those of the cultural nationalists. Curnow's disrespectful attitude to Eileen Duggan, moreover, led to her refusing permission to include her poems in the 1945 anthology.[8] Prose efforts, of which there were many examples,[9] were written out as they were judged largely not to conform to the nationalist paradigm. This was done to the extent that it appeared that, apart from Frank Sargeson's work, John Mulgan's *Man Alone* was almost the only prose fiction written by a New Zealander. The literary nationalists could not afford to ignore Katherine Mansfield's writing, but Sargeson wrote an essay minimising it, which shows that he saw it as an obvious threat to his position in New Zealand's literary canon.[10]

The introduction of this nationalist paradigm was so successful that future historians looked back at the few nationalist voices in the wilderness and believed New Zealand to be largely bereft of literary culture. In 1950, reflecting on pre-cultural nationalist literature, Monte Holcroft wrote that "most persons feel a kind of blankness in the past".[11] This subjective nationalist theory remained the orthodoxy until at least the 1990s. It influenced a whole generation of scholars, excited to discover that, starting with Curnow and a few of his predecessors, New Zealand had

---

[7] D'Arcy Cresswell, says John Newton, "judged on his verse alone, would long have been forgotten". "D'Arcy Cresswell", *Kōtare 2008, Special Issue - Essays in New Zealand Literary Biography Series Three: "The Early Poets"* (Wellington: Victoria University, 2009), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi073Kota.html. Ursula Bethell said of Cresswell, in a letter to Frank Sidgwick: "but how disappointing is his poetry in the light of his autobiography!" 26 June 1931, Sidgwick & Jackson papers, MSS 142, *Bodleian Library Special Collections (BLSC)*, Oxford.

[8] Duggan was unhappy with the poems Curnow selected, and that Curnow had written of her poetry "that the whole effect is that of an emotional cliché". Allen Curnow, "Introduction", *A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-45* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1945), p. 25, in Peter Whiteford, "Duggan, Eileen", in Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature (OCNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 152.

[9] Between 1890 and 1945 there were 296 novels (as well as 120 by Fergus Hume) and 60 short story collections published by New Zealand authors. See Appendix A.

[10] Frank Sargeson, "The Feminine Tradition", broadcast on 1YA, 28 July 1948, printed in the *New Zealand Listener*, 19:476 (6 Aug 1948).

[11] Monte Holcroft, *Discovered Isles: A Trilogy* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1950), p. 33.

"its own history, its own politics, its own literature".[12] As a result of this influence, Ian Wedde's 1985 *Book of New Zealand Verse*, while more inclusive than Curnow's 1945 version, still applied a cultural nationalist test to the poems that it included. Adhering to this criterion, Wedde says that New Zealand poetry began with Blanche Baughan, as "it is with Blanche Baughan that we first sense the beginnings of an internal relation of *where* to the language of the poems".[13] Hubert Church is also judged entirely on these terms and disparaged for his "earnest castings at the indigenous", which prompts Theresia Marshall to say: "Wedde writes aggressively from a contemporary postmodern stance seeking an ease of relation between language and place", not attempting to "assess [Church] in his own time and terms".[14]

The cultural nationalists also successfully marginalised women writers by subscribing to a largely masculine view of literature and national identity. As they criticised previous writing for being "cut off from local reality", the alternative they sought, according to Kai Jensen, was to "produce work that might be relevant to ordinary New Zealanders—by whom they often meant the hardbitten Kiwi bloke".[15] The "man alone" figure (from John Mulgan's novel of the same name) epitomised the pioneering, masculine spirit that encountered an "empty" land. John Newton's article on the "South Island myth" reveals that the cultural nationalists preferred to stay at home and write about this, while sending their literary surrogates into the bush or up mountains.[16] Previous writing was generally dismissed as too sentimental and feminine, and famously derided by A. R. D. (Rex) Fairburn as the "junketings of the

---

[12] Peter Gibbons, "The Far Side of the Search For Identity", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37:1 (2003), p. 38.
[13] Ian Wedde, "Introduction", *The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse* (Auckland: Penguin, 1985), p. 33.
[14] Wedde, p. 37; Theresia Marshall, "New Zealand Literature in the Sydney *Bulletin*", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995), pp. 80-1.
[15] Kai Jensen, *Whole Men* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996), p. 43.
[16] For example, Glover's more rugged "personae" who appeared in his poems: Harry, Arawata Bill and Mick Stimson. John Newton, "Colonialism Above the Snowline", *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 34:85 (1999), pp. 89-90.

Menstrual School of poetry".[17] The new literary establishment of the 1940s was as a result bereft of women, where they had been strongly represented before.[18]

As a result of the success of cultural nationalism, the period before 1935 is presented in the majority of literary criticism and historical writing up until around 1990 as devoid of cultural and intellectual nutriment. These incorrect beliefs about the situation of New Zealand writers at this time have led to the widespread idea that writers who were unfortunate enough to be in New Zealand were "exiled" at a great distance from all the opportunities that older countries offered. Looking back, it appeared that before the cultural nationalists saved the day with the invention of New Zealand literature and the instigation of local publishing initiatives there were very few opportunities for writers. It was believed that most writers dearly wished to leave New Zealand for societies more sympathetic to literary ambition, and that those who could not leave felt "exiled". Katherine Mansfield was both talented and anxious to leave New Zealand, and wrote in her journal in 1907: "life here is impossible—I can't see how it can drag on".[19] The same year she wrote in a poem: "It's London ever calling me / the live long day".[20] Outbursts like these mean she is often the example cited to illustrate writers' "exile" in New Zealand. If writers like Mansfield wanted to be successful, they had to overcome exile by leaving and seeking out the metropolis.

Because it was generally accepted that nationalism was the key to writing, and location was crucial, leaving New Zealand only resulted in a second type of exile. It

---

[17] Rex Fairburn to Denis Glover, 17 Aug 1934, Glover Papers, MS Papers 418/15, *Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL)*, Wellington.

[18] There were women writers associated with the "Phoenix" group, such as Jean Alison and Elsie Locke, as well as a multitude of women writers at this time, but they "seemed to melt away". The explanation can be found in "what the society of the day made women make of themselves". Evans (1990), p. 83.

[19] Katherine Mansfield to Sylvia Payne, 8 Jan 1907, in Anthony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 43.

[20] Katherine Mansfield, *Notebooks I*, Margaret Scott (ed.), p. 86, in Jane Stafford, "Fashioned Intimacies: Maoriland and Colonial Modernity", *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 37:31 (2002), p. 32.

was widely believed that once New Zealand writers were forced to leave their native country, they were doomed to live as expatriate exiles in another country. In 1969, for example, Winston Rhodes wrote that students of New Zealand literature were "familiar with the theme of expatriation … journeys and exiles".[21] He was echoed over twenty years later by Lawrence Jones who wrote that between 1890 and 1934 literary history was "marked by a series of separate struggles by talented individuals to become New Zealand novelists, with each finally withdrawing into silence or expatriation".[22] Significantly, Jones acknowledged only two options: writers could live in "silence" in New Zealand, or they could choose a similar kind of silence by withdrawing from the New Zealand literary scene as expatriates.

The noun "expatriate" has come to mean more than its simple dictionary definition of "a person who lives in a foreign country".[23] It has been altered, particularly in terms of artists or intellectuals, to mean the renunciation of one's country of birth by the removal of oneself overseas to live in another country permanently. Expatriatism is therefore seen as a deliberate "withdrawal", and represents a permanent loss of culture and talent for New Zealand. The implication for expatriates is that there is no way back, and the process is generally thought of in negative terms. The idea that "brains rank next to butter as the chief export" of New Zealand,[24] as Jack Bennett wrote in 1947, is a notion that was commonly accepted by New Zealanders, with the understanding that the "brains" were unlikely to be recovered.

---

[21] Winston Rhodes, *New Zealand Novels* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1969), p. 16.
[22] Lawrence Jones, "The Novel", in Terry Sturm (ed.), *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature (OHNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 123.
[23] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, http://dictionary.oed.com (2010).
[24] Jack Bennett, "Introduction", in John Mulgan, *Report on Experience* (Auckland: Blackwood & Janet Paul, 1967, originally pub. 1947), p. viii.

This idea of permanent and necessary expatriatism is commonly regarded as synonymous with the concept of "exile": the state in which New Zealanders who left New Zealand were supposedly doomed to end up, living and writing away from their native country. While their isolation in New Zealand was often described as exile, by leaving they were said simply to have transferred to a different kind of exile *within* the centre: an exile from their home, from their roots and their family. According to Eric McCormick, "New Zealand's literary *émigrés*" were all by a matter of necessity embarking on a "self-imposed exile".[25] The most famous of these literary exiles is of course Katherine Mansfield, but the term has been applied to many others. They include James Courage, who was given this epithet by David Young in a *Listener* article from 1982, and John Mulgan and Dan Davin, who have been placed in this category by James McNeish's *Dancing with Peacocks: New Zealanders in Exile in the Time of Hitler and Mao Tse Tung*.[26]

This kind of exile has a specific meaning which is also not the same as its dictionary definition. Exile historically is the result of forced expulsion from one's homeland, usually for political reasons. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as "enforced removal from one's native land".[27] Some studies of "writers in exile" have remained loyal to this definition, as in the case of *Transcending Exile: Conrad, Nabokov, I.B. Singer* by Asher Z. Milbauer. In this case, the writers being discussed were political exiles.[28] Joseph Conrad, born in Berdyczów (now Berdychiv, Ukraine) as Józef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski, was exiled with his family by the Imperial Russians, and after some years at sea ended up in England, beginning his literary

---

[25] McCormick (1940), p. 132.
[26] David Young, "Courage in Exile", *Listener*, 101:121 (1982), p. 24; James McNeish, *Dance of the Peacocks: New Zealanders in Exile at the Time of Hitler and Mao Tse-tung* (Auckland: Vintage, 2003).
[27] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, http://dictionary.oed.com (2010).
[28] Asher Z. Milbauer, *Transcending Exile: Conrad, Nabokov, I.B. Singer* (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1985).

career in 1894. Vladimir Nabokov was an exile from Russia in the time of the Revolution, and Isaac Bashevis Singer was a Jewish refugee from Poland.

New Zealanders who moved to England to pursue literary careers, however, cannot be described as people fleeing from an oppressive regime and unable to return to their homeland. The only New Zealand writer who could possibly be classed as a political exile is Basil Dowling, who was a Presbyterian minister at Seatoun, Wellington and Chaplain of Scots College at the beginning of World War II. His pacifist stance and public campaigning on the issue led to his forced resignation and three months imprisonment. He left soon after for England, disillusioned with the country and the church.[29]

A wider definition of "exile" than this political one is usually used, however. Exile describes a writer who has been uprooted from his or her native culture and is forced to live as an alien in a foreign culture. According to Vytautas Kavolis, writing in 1992, a writer in exile must "write within a linguistic universe alien to her, in a language which, most of the time, she does not share with her neighbours".[30] This is still a long way from the experience of New Zealand writers in England, as British culture was, to all intents and purposes, their culture. Also, of course, English was their native language. While there were obvious points of difference between New Zealanders and their English counterparts, and these will not be ignored, even New Zealand-born writers did not experience life in London as writing within a foreign discourse.

In the established discourse on New Zealand writers, "exile" is what results from distancing oneself from one's native roots and rescinding one's national identity.

---

[29] Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand Archives Research Centre, "Dowling, Rev Basil Cairns", *Register of New Zealand Presbyterian Church Ministers, Deaconesses & Missionaries from 1840* , http://www.presbyterian.org.nz/archives/Page159.htm (accessed 16 April 2010).
[30] Vytautas Kavolis , "Women Writers in Exile", *World Literature Today*, 66:1 (1992), pp. 43-6.

Eric McCormick believed that this was the fate of the majority of New Zealanders who ended up overseas. He wrote:

> A few of New Zealand's literary *émigrés* were to learn in the conditions of exile a new understanding of their country. But the greater number quickly discarded all traces of their colonial origin, merged themselves in the English literary world, and devoted their talents to the cultivation of some current literary fashion … neither their country's literature nor the world's has been greatly enriched by their self-imposed exile.[31]

McCormick's words imply that writers usually had to give up their "New Zealandness", their "otherness", their sense of New Zealand identity, to be successful in England. A few years later, Jack Bennett confirmed this idea when he wrote: "it might be said of some among the many who leave New Zealand shores … that they become more English than the English themselves".[32] "Exiles" in this context were people who had to suppress their national identity in order to succeed, or even to survive, in another country. Those who did not do this risked failure, and a forced return to New Zealand.

Because it is difficult, if not impossible, to give up one's cultural identity, within literary history a trope has emerged of expatriate New Zealand writers occupying a sort-of ideological no-man's land when overseas. Expatriates, upon finding they were unable to fit in in a new place, discovered they no longer fitted in in the old place either. In a very few cases, this generalisation matched their experience. John Mulgan said, once he had been in England for a while: "I do not think of myself as a New Zealander any longer … I belong to a different world, or perhaps to no world".[33] From observations like this has emerged the stock figure of the literary exile destined to wander the globe, never feeling at home anywhere.

---

[31] McCormick (1940), p. 132.
[32] Bennett, p. viii.
[33] Mulgan to Gabrielle Mulgan, 1 Sept 1943, in Vincent O'Sullivan, *Long Journey to the Border* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003), p. 254.

The prevailing idea is, then, that before the cultural nationalists made intellectual life possible in New Zealand, New Zealand writers were doomed to a "dual exile". If they managed to escape the first kind of "exile", being marooned in New Zealand, they merely encountered a second type of "exile" in London (or elsewhere). Writers were disadvantaged by being born in a non-literary environment like New Zealand, but then further disadvantaged if they went to the places rumoured to provide literary fulfilment because they were far from home and not local. This was inevitable for a group of people whose cultural roots were in a different place from their birthplace or home. These ideas of a "dual exile" are widespread and remain largely unquestioned.

Cultural nationalism and trans-nationalism

New Zealand "nationalism" was framed by the cultural nationalists as a move away from the Imperialism which had previously defined the country. In the early days, New Zealand functioned as a part of the British Empire but without a separate identity. The legacy of this was that the official world view was largely an Imperial British one. "New Zealand history" was not really considered as a subject worthy of study, and the history studied in schools was the history of the British Empire.

Some might see the subsequent development of cultural nationalism as an awakening of national consciousness, but it was also a deliberate political ploy to foster unity within the country. Nationalism was in some ways the product of deliberate nation-building around the centennial celebrations in 1940. Because of World War II, the "New Zealand government was eager to bolster a sense of national

identity in order to rally the country to arms".[34] A number of works were commissioned to celebrate the country's achievements, including one of the founding documents of cultural nationalism, Eric McCormick's *Letters and Art in New Zealand*.

While nationalism became the defining framework for studying New Zealand history, this came up against opposition from the 1970s onwards when differing perspectives were increasingly recognised. Previously marginalised groups such as women, Māori and others objected to the officially sanctioned idea of "New Zealandness", noting that it was narrowly defined and based on a Pākehā, male, rural and pioneering "ideal". Māori historians and gender historians like Judith Binney and Raewyn Dalziel took explorations in New Zealand history in new directions.[35] By the 1980s and 1990s the emergence of these anti-establishment themes had made its mark, and more historians began to investigate the various "myths" of New Zealand history and identity which had been solidifying over time. For example, the masculine dominance of national identity was interrogated by Jock Phillips in *A Man's Country?* in 1987.[36]

Nationalism has been challenged in a literary context. Patrick Evans' *Penguin History of New Zealand Literature* (1990) represented a new scepticism in local literary commentary that enabled a deconstruction of New Zealand literary discourse and began to recover a picture of the realities of pre-World War II literary affairs. Evans points out that Curnow had attempted to write his own version of literary

---

[34] James Smithies, "Modernism or Exile: E. H. McCormick and *Letters and Art in New Zealand*", *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 39:3 (2004), p. 96.
[35] Binney is well known for her work on the people of the Urawera region, among other things. This began with *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and his Community at Maungapohatu* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1979). Dalziel's work includes "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 11:2 (1977), pp. 112-23.
[36] Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male, a History* (Auckland: Penguin, 1987).

history with himself occupying the central role, describing it as a "story told by a particular group of people who had placed themselves at the beginning of things in order to enhance their own importance".[37] The nationalist paradigm has also been interrogated by Stuart Murray and Lawrence Jones.[38] In *Never a Soul at Home*, his study of literary nationalism in the 1930s, Murray refuses to be "seduced by the simple notion that the literature of the nation sprang into existence in 1932 with the publication of the Auckland University College Literary Club's magazine *Phoenix*".[39] This was not least because Curnow's theory of cultural nationalism was only representative of the agendas of his own clique, and only some of the time. The project that the cultural nationalists embarked upon was not, in Murray's words, "the mining of an untapped vein of local reality", but a part of the construction of New Zealand as an identity.[40] Evans notes that the cultural nationalists themselves owed much to writers who worked within the British literary tradition, particularly the new group of young poets of the 1930s which included Auden and Day Lewis. *Phoenix* itself was not created out of thin air but in fact "looked a lot like" John Middleton Murry's *Adelphi*, produced in London.[41]

The rise of transnational history in recent years has further unravelled the hold of nationalism on historical representation. Recent trends have seen movement away from this focus on "national histories". Transnationalist historians believe that using the "nation" as the core organising principle serves only to "impede fresh understandings". Much of what happens in history can only be understood by looking at international interactions, links and migrations. Donald Denoon and Philippa Mein Smith's *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* acknowledges this, as it

[37] Evans (1990), p. 8.
[38] Lawrence Jones, *Picking Up the Traces* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2003).
[39] Stuart Murray, *Never a Soul at Home* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998), p. 17.
[40] Murray (1998), p. 17.
[41] Evans (1990), p. 79.

aims to explore the whole Pacific region as the space where political and social identities have "formed, interacted and reformed more often, and more recently than anywhere else".[42] Mein Smith's more recent work focuses on the importance of interaction with Australia for New Zealand.[43] Transnational approaches recognise that nations are arbitrary constructions, "imagined communities", to quote Benedict Anderson.[44] The movement away from focus on the nation is also reflected in the recent *New Oxford History of New Zealand*, where Giselle Byrnes states in the introduction that the book "questions the assumption that New Zealand History—the 'story of New Zealand'—can be explained as a quest for 'national identity', a narrative that depicts the history of New Zealand in terms of progressive and evolutionary developments".[45]

Even though the story of cultural nationalism has been closely examined and acknowledged to be largely an act of artful literary creation, in the field of literary history there is still a lingering focus on the question of authenticity. While very recent works such as Patrick Evans' *The Long Forgetting* and Jane Stafford and Mark Williams' *Maoriland* attempt to remedy this situation,[46] the damage that nationalism has done to literary history is far from rectified, as the emphasis is still often on identifying "authentic" New Zealand writing rather than trying to view the period in its own context. Texts and authors are still too frequently evaluated on the grounds of whether they are an accurate depiction of "New Zealandness". These attempts are concerned with revealing the spuriousness of the various discourses that abound, but

---

[42] Donald Denoon and Philippa Mein Smith, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000).
[43] Peter Hempenstall, Philippa Mein Smith and Shaun Goldfinch, *Remaking the Tasman World* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2008).
[44] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London; New York: Verso, 1991).
[45] Giselle Byrnes, *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 1.
[46] Evans (2007), Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006).

are still about those discourses. If critics and historians are not actually embarking on the quest to find "national identity" itself, they are still mostly writing about the quest. Despite efforts to deconstruct them, the ideas of cultural nationalism have crystallised in literary critical thought. It is not enough to question the cultural nationalist interpretation without producing a coherent alternative interpretation of New Zealand literary history to put in its place. There is still much more to be done to restore the writers of early twentieth-century New Zealand to their places within historical discourse.

One aspect of national imagination that has not been examined is the concept of "dual exile", except in part by Felicity Barnes.[47] It is generally accepted that before World War II the dearth of cultural access in New Zealand forced people to become unhappy exiles overseas, and this has not yet been subjected to much scrutiny. Many people have mentioned this phenomenon, but without looking closely at it or questioning it. What is needed is an empirical approach to chip away gradually at the walls of myth that surround early New Zealand literary and cultural history. This study is an empirically-grounded investigation into the effectiveness of the concept of "dual exile" in explaining New Zealand's literary past.

To deal with the past as objectively as possible it is necessary to try to avoid aesthetic or ideological criteria. Cultural history of the type that Eric McCormick was writing has suffered from being too much a chronology of its most successful proponents. As Chris Hilliard has pointed out, McCormick was one who saw "cultural history largely in terms of intellectuals' endeavours", whereas Peter Gibbons, for example, "has used a 'derivative' or 'second-tier' figure like [Johannes] Andersen to reveal a great deal about the intertextual and interpersonal networks that produced the

[47] Felicity Barnes, "New Zealand's London: The Metropolis and New Zealand's Culture, 1890-1940", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 2008).

'discourse of New Zealand' in the early twentieth century, revealing more, I suspect, than a comparable study of S. Percy Smith or Elsdon Best would". [48] Hilliard himself takes the same approach in *The Bookmen's Dominion*: the "bookmen" are "second-tier" figures like newspaper editors. The description of these background workers is much more fruitful than yet another work focusing on the most high-profile characters. Similarly, in this study, I am not concerned just with the most successful writers, but with lesser figures, with those who worked behind the literary scene, and with the structures of constraint and opportunity that gave the colonial literary world its character. In this way, I hope to clarify the context within which New Zealand writers worked.

Furthermore this study attempts to avoid the nationalist mythology that still dominates the study of New Zealand literature. It does this by acknowledging transnational influences, in particular those that result from British colonialism. As a form of transnational approach, "British world" history has gained traction over the last ten years as a fruitful way of looking at the world. In 1973 J. G. A. Pocock argued for a new approach to British history which would acknowledge the "multiple identities and meanings subsumed within the term, as well as recognise the interaction of history across cultures".[49] Pocock later described this as a call to New Zealanders to "re-assess British history as a shared possession".[50] A particularly important international influence for New Zealand has been British colonialism.[51]

---

[48] Chris Hilliard, "Colonial Culture and the Province of Cultural History", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36:1 (2002), p. 84. Chris Hilliard, *The Bookmen's Dominion* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006).
[49] Byrnes, p. 3.
[50] J. G. A. Pocock, "The Antipodean Perception", *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 20.
[51] "British world" history is seen by some as being at odds with the more inclusive ideas of postcolonialism, a set of theories which seek to redress the injustices done to indigenous people by the colonial process and to undermine the dominant colonial discourse. For some, renewing the focus on the British colonial past can risk "resurrecting old colonial discourses in the present" (Byrnes, p. 8). The influence of critical theorists like Edward Said and Homi K. Bhabha on current historical

Where previous references to New Zealand writers and exile rely on hearsay, this study tests the theory of "dual exile" using a quantitative approach to assess the opportunities available to New Zealand writers. I began by compiling a list of all the books published by New Zealand authors between 1890 and 1945 which appear in the New Zealand National Union Catalogue three or more times (see Appendix A).[52] A "New Zealand author" is anyone who lived in New Zealand for ten years or more. I collected information about these publications, such as where they were published and whether the content was New Zealand-related, and, where the information was available, the location of the author when the book was written. Those for whom enough information was available were included in a secondary list of 118 "prominent" authors (see Appendix B for a discussion of the sources for this information). Biographical details from these authors were used to produce statistical information about their movements, which then could be examined for patterns. This information was combined with extensive archival and secondary research to create a broader picture of the opportunities available to New Zealand writers in the early twentieth century.

As a result, I have arrived at an understanding of the lives of New Zealand authors that differs radically from that embodied in the cultural nationalist account, and indeed from some of the assumptions that underpin most other accounts as well. New Zealand, I propose, was part of what I call the "colonial writing world": the system of networks that surrounded the globe as the result of Britain's colonial expansion into the South Pacific. The colonial writing world allowed New Zealand writers to participate in the Australian and British literary worlds without leaving the

---

scholarship is inarguably great. This study does not seek to counter the advances of postcolonial thinking, but merely engage with the unavoidable existence of New Zealand's colonial past.

[52] This means a copy of the book exists in the National Library and at least two libraries throughout the country, eliminating one-off, self-published items. The catalogue can be found on the National Library website, http://www.natlib.govt.nz.

country, meaning they were not “exiled” in New Zealand. Similarly, those who did leave were not “exiled” overseas, out of touch with their homeland, as they continued to be part of the colonial writing world from overseas. The assumptions that underpin the notion of “dual exile” must therefore be abandoned.

PART ONE: NEW ZEALAND AND THE COLONIAL WRITING WORLD

Chapter One – Writing in New Zealand

1.1 Literary culture in New Zealand

The claim that New Zealanders before World War II had no culture of their own, and few cultural interests, is often linked to a thesis about the country's pioneering origins. The settlers, it is claimed, were overwhelmed by the immediate task of forging an existence from an unforgiving land, and had little interest in the trivialities of art and literature. While practical, non-fiction topics may have had some appeal, the vital forms of literature at this time were "Certainly not poetry and fiction".[1] New Zealand was a young country, preoccupied with "taming a land of mountain, forest and flood", said Alan Mulgan in 1936,[2] and its inhabitants could not be expected to have the extra energy required to produce literature as well. MacDonald P. Jackson makes the same assumption, arguing that "Migration and the setting up of a home at the other end of the world exhausted the creative impulse".[3]

It is assumed that the realities of a rural-based economy left little time for such pursuits. Indeed, oft-quoted complaints from artists and writers at the time give this impression. Samuel Butler noted wryly in the 1860s that a mountain was thought beautiful only if it were good for sheep. "It does not do", he commented, "to speak about John Sebastian Bach's fugues or pre-Raphaelite pictures".[4] Katherine Mansfield purportedly left for London in 1908 to escape the country's "suffocating

---

[1] Terry Sturm, "Introduction", *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature (OHNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. xi.
[2] Alan Mulgan, "The New Zealand Novel", in Johannes Andersen (ed.), *Annals of New Zealand Literature* (Wellington: New Zealand Authors' Week Committee, 1936), p. 9.
[3] MacDonald P. Jackson, "Poetry", in Sturm (ed.), *OHNZL*, p. 347.
[4] Eric McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), p. 60.

materialism".[5] Other writers resented the lack of importance that was attached to their art compared to more materialist activities. R.A.K. Mason described New Zealand after World War I as "a society ruled by '[m]en who consider the world was made and the stars ranged in order to facilitate the transport of pigs between Taupiri and Wairoa".[6] Winnie Gonley wrote in 1932: "Our remoteness and our preoccupation with the task of subduing a new country have given us little interest in or time for acquiring literary technique".[7] Comments like these have been used to suggest that New Zealand was not a place that provided intellectual nutriment or support for literary-minded colonists.

These arguments, however, were profoundly misleading. Many New Zealanders were deeply interested in art and literature, and it was not necessary to leave the country to encounter European high culture. Cultural artefacts were imported from Britain along with the immigrants and existed in both tangible and intangible forms. Eric McCormick himself attests that the suitcases of British immigrants were stuffed with books, including "the works of Tennyson, the Brownings and Dickens, to name a few".[8] The settlers had, apparently, followed the literary advice of immigration publicists like E. J. Wakefield, who in 1848 told every colonist "to supply himself with a good collection of these cheerful companions".[9]

By the turn of the century, New Zealand was actually quite well-provided with books. According to the literary collector T. M. Hocken, British imports stocked the "good supply of bookshops that were available and were eagerly borrowed from

---

[5] McCormick (1940), p. 129.
[6] R. A. K. Mason, Notebooks, MS 990/10, *Hocken Library (HL)*, Dunedin, in Rachel Barrowman, *Mason: The Life of R. A. K. Mason* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2003), p. 47.
[7] Winnie Gonley, "New Zealand Life in Contemporary Culture", MA Thesis (University of New Zealand, 1932), p. 3.
[8] McCormick (1940), p. 20.
[9] E. J. Wakefield, "Advice to Intending Colonists", in Cherry Hankin (ed.), *Life in a Young Colony: Selections from Early New Zealand Writing* (Christchurch: Whitcoulls, 1981), p. 39.

the many public libraries".[10] William Pember Reeves wrote in 1898 that "music, reading, and flower gardening" were the three chief colonial pastimes.[11]

There were also well-established amateur dramatic societies by the turn of the century in New Zealand,[12] and theatrical performances were provided by touring English, American and European companies in abundance. Maurice Hurst wrote in 1944 that

> Young people of to-day can hardly conceive of the "good old days" when outstanding stage artists and theatrical companies, singers and musicians, came to New Zealand from abroad in an almost continuous procession, bringing with them something of the glamour and excitement of the great theatres of London and other cities of Europe and sometimes of New York.[13]

He goes on to quote "a Dunedin historian" who says that between 1870 and 1910 there were "few nights of the year when there was not something of note being presented [in Dunedin]". Alan Mulgan also related that "it was astonishing how much drama and music came to this very remote colony with its tiny population".[14] There was certainly a great deal of enthusiasm for these performances, with demand outstripping supply. Ngaio Marsh remembered how "colonial audiences were elated at the sight of advance notices of theatre companies, how they formed long patient queues for tickets, and rushed for seats at performances".[15] These troupes were not discouraged from visiting even during World War I, though they were fewer in number. Attendance then improved again during the 1920s.[16]

---

[10] T. M. Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand* (London, 1898), p. 112, in Mary Ronnie, *Books to the People: A History of Regional Library Services in New Zealand* (Wellington: New Zealand Library Association, 1993), p.5.
[11] William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud* (London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1898), p. 409.
[12] Elizabeth Plumridge, "The Negotiation of Circumstance: New Zealand Women Artists c1890-1914", PhD Thesis (Australian National University, 1985), pp. 108-9.
[13] Maurice Hurst, *Music and the Stage* (Charles Begg: Auckland, 1944), p. 7.
[14] Alan Mulgan, *The Making of a New Zealander* (Wellington: Reed, 1958), p. 53.
[15] Ngaio Marsh, *Black Beech and Honeydew* (London: Collins, 1966), p. 125, in Plumridge, pp. 107-8.
[16] Hurst, p. 62.

Music was another cultural fixture the colonists were loath to leave behind. Elizabeth Plumridge describes how "musical activity was widespread in the colonial community" according to the official statistics, and how "Musical instruments of all kinds were available and in demand as soon as British settlers arrived".[17] According to the census, "By 1911 there were nearly 1700 colonials earning a living as vocalists, performers, composers or teachers of music".[18] Charles Baeyertz presided over elocutionary and musical competitions in Christchurch, and these competitions proved popular. Hurst records that there were also many performances by visiting musicians. Musical entertainments included opera performances, and brass and pipe bands existed in most towns. The Woolston Brass Band, for example, was formed in 1891 and is still well-known in Christchurch. Orchestras and choirs were formed in every sizable town. Hurst lists major and well-established musical societies that existed in the 1940s, and many of them had existed for decades. Christchurch could offer the Royal Christchurch Musical Society, the Christchurch Harmonic Society, the Christchurch Liedertafel (male voice choir), the Laurian Club (chamber music), the Eroica Club (piano music), the Christchurch Orchestral Society, the Christchurch Leiderkranchen (ladies' choir), and the Christchurch Operatic Society. Because of the blind spot towards so-called "imported" culture that cultural nationalism has created, the depth and pervasiveness of artistic pursuits in New Zealand has rarely been acknowledged.

New Zealanders were also highly literate. Guy Scholefield found a high level of readership of local newspapers and concludes that "such figures represent the high literacy of the New Zealand people, all of whom by virtue of the national education

[17] Plumridge, p. 100.
[18] *New Zealand Census*, 1886-1916, in Plumridge, p. 102.

act of 1877 will have been taught to read and write".[19] The literacy rate was close to 100 per cent by the time Scholefield wrote this in 1958, and by 1886, only seven years after the act, "over 73 per cent of the population could both read and write".[20] James Belich has used census reports to estimate that the overall illiteracy rate was 25 per cent in 1858, which was "probably not dissimilar to that of Britain", and this is echoed by Lydia Wevers.[21] A study of British literacy indicates that rates were indeed similar:

> In the sample of registration districts undertaken for this study, literate and illiterate England were almost exactly balanced at the end of the 1830s. During the subsequent seventy-five years, illiteracy fell to 1 per cent, leaving an average for the period of 25 per cent.[22]

As noted earlier, reading was one of the three favoured colonial activities in 1898. Reeves mentioned the abundance of "booksellers' shops and free libraries".[23] A. G. Stephens (editor of the Sydney *Bulletin*) went so far as to hint that New Zealanders were overeducated, commenting that "Maoriland is a curiously 'educated' country. There are 'high schools' and 'colleges' and 'universities' galore".[24]

Many people were interested in furthering the educational opportunities the colony had to offer. Many libraries began as Mechanics' Institutes, which were educational establishments formed to provide adult education to working men. The

---

[19] Guy H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington: Reed, 1958), p. 23.
[20] Anna Rogers and Max Rogers, *Turning the Pages: The Story of Bookselling in New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed, 1993), p. 2.
[21] James Belich, *Making Peoples* (Auckland: Penguin Press, 1996), p. 393, and Lydia Wevers, *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2010), p. 29.
[22] David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 22. This is a measure of "innominacy", however, meaning being unable to sign one's name (measured using marriage records). Belich says New Zealand in 1858 was 12 per cent "innominate" "compared with 18-31 per cent in the New Zealand-prone counties [e.g. Kent] of England in the 1860s". Belich (1996), p. 393.
[23] Reeves, p. 409.
[24] A. G. Stephens, "Canterbury Bells", *Bulletin*, 1 Dec 1900, in Theresia Marshall, "New Zealand Literature in the Sydney *Bulletin*", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995), p. 55.

Auckland Public Library, for example, was originally a Mechanics' Institute.[25] An "impulse to improve their prospects" led to the colonists creating a proliferation of libraries and a variety of educational institutions, according to a study on bookselling by Alan Preston.[26] This was not confined to the cities: Dulcie Needham-Gillespie recounts that "some of the larger sheep stations" had libraries that were available for staff to use,[27] and some station owners were personally concerned with improving literacy among the workers. Writing about Brancepeth Station, Lydia Wevers states that "oral tradition on the station claims that the library was established in part out of a wish to improve literacy among the workers, and that the schoolmaster gave classes in adult literacy (though there is no firm evidence of the latter)".[28] In 1872, the visiting Anthony Trollope stated that "Carlyle, Macaulay and Dickens are certainly better known to small communities in New Zealand than they are to similar congregations of men and women at home".[29]

It is generally assumed that a new colony first occupies itself with establishment, and puts aside the task of encouraging cultural pursuits until life is more settled. Evidence would suggest that this was not the case, at least for New Zealand. Almost as soon as they arrived, immigrants from Britain set to work recreating the cultural institutions that they remembered and missed from home, including the public library. The work of J. E. Traue indicates that cultural institutions such as libraries were created very quickly from the very beginning of settlement. The British library movement was in its heyday in the 1850s, when British institutions

---

[25] Alfred Grace, "Brett, Sir Henry", *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, A. H. McLintock (ed.), originally published in 1966, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/brett-sir-henry/1 (updated 22 Apr 2009).
[26] Alan Preston, "Bookselling", in Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, Keith Maslen (eds.), *Book and Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997), p. 157.
[27] Dulcie Needham-Gillespie, "The Colonial and His Books", PhD Thesis (Victoria University, 1971), p. 127.
[28] Wevers (2010), p. 29.
[29] Preston, in Griffith, Harvey and Maslen (eds.), p. 157.

were being transplanted whole to the colonies.[30] The first legislation empowering local authorities to set up public libraries was passed in 1869 and was "on the lines of the Public Libraries Act of 1850 in Great Britain",[31] which provided tax support for libraries. These libraries often began as privately run athenaeums, such as the Mechanics' Institutes. Records show that in 1926 there were 435 libraries in New Zealand, ranging from "small collections of a hundred volumes to libraries such as those in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Timaru, which [could] stand comparison with libraries of towns in England of similar proportions".[32] Libraries were not professionalised or institutionalised until the 1940s, when the Labour government became involved.[33] As the universities did not have a large role in public life at this time, libraries acted as "hubs of research and discussion".[34] Though the infrastructure was not yet in place to make them highly successful, even the smallest towns had some sort of collection, reflecting a high interest in reading throughout the colony. Private libraries could be well-stocked as well, such as that of Sir George Grey on Kawau, at which "Every important movement in domestic, foreign, or colonial politics could be studied as exhaustively … as in the reading room at the Athenaeum".[35]

In fact, J. E. Traue claims that New Zealand was a "veritable paradise for readers" by the end of the nineteenth century, and that "New Zealand appears to have achieved, within some fifty years of settlement, the highest density, that is, number of

---

[30] W. B. Sutch, "Libraries for All", *Tomorrow*, 2:1 (1935), p. 5.
[31] Maxine Rochester, *The Revolution in New Zealand Librarianship: American Influence as Facilitated by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in the 1930s*, Occasional Papers Series, 50 (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Dalhousie University, 1990), p. 8.
[32] W. J. McEldowney, *The New Zealand Library Association 1910-1960 and its Part in New Zealand Library Development* (Wellington: New Zealand Library Association, 1962), p. 6. Statistics are from the New Zealand Department of Censuses and Statistics, "24: Census of Public Libraries", *Vol XVII: General Report, Population Census* (Wellington: Department of Censuses and Statistics, 1926), p. 97.
[33] Rochester, p. 6.
[34] Hilliard (2006), p. 17.
[35] J. A. Froude, *Oceana, or, England and her Colonies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010; orig. pub. 1886), p. 308, in Wevers (2010), p. 89.

libraries to total population, ever reached in any country or state in the world".[36] In his article "The Public Library Explosion in Colonial New Zealand", Traue gives figures to back this up, recounting that

> Such libraries were not confined to urban areas; many sparsely populated rural counties were particularly well served. In 1906 the county of Otamatea had six libraries for 2,921 people, Weber, one library for 593, and Cheviot, one library for 1,605.[37]

Traue recorded that the ratio of libraries to people was one for every 2,099 people in 1908. This ratio is consistently considerably higher than the figures for Australia or North America. This is possibly the result of the late timing of New Zealand's settlement combined with over-compensation resulting from a desire not to be left behind culturally.[38]

Like libraries, bookshops were also common. A New Zealander writing to the *Publisher's Gazette* in 1909 was quoted in the *Dominion* as saying that in Wellington there were fifteen good bookshops serving 60,000 people, and that there were at least three worthy of a city three times its size.[39] This was to continue, and an American author wrote in 1954:

> I have never ceased to be amazed at the profusion, the excellence, and the service of New Zealand bookshops. There are three bookshops in the small city of Wellington, two in Christchurch, and three in Auckland which are larger than the largest bookshop in Baltimore, Maryland, a city of a million people.[40]

---

[36] J. E. Traue, "The Public Library Explosion in Colonial New Zealand", *Libraries and the Cultural Record*, 42:2 (2007), pp. 152-3.
[37] Traue, p. 152.
[38] Or, with regards to Australia, the difference results from the fact that a much higher proportion of New Zealanders lived in small communities, each with its own small library. Australia was one of the most "metropolitanised" societies in the world, with a much higher proportion of people living in big cities with fewer but much bigger libraries.
[39] "Among the Books", *The Dominion*, 30 Jan 1909.
[40] Robin Winks, *These New Zealanders* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1954), p. 122.

Where a specialised bookshop was not available, the general store took over this role. In 1890 only twenty percent of the population lived in the four main centres, and "bookselling was for the most part a function of general retail establishments".[41] Readers may not always have been able to get the latest titles, but there was a demand and enthusiasm for books that presents a contrasting picture to the one commonly acknowledged. Stanley Unwin, of the British publishing firm Allen & Unwin, wrote in 1935 that "New Zealand, with its one and a half million inhabitants, is a wonderfully steady buyer of books—probably, per head of population, one of the best in the world outside Scotland".[42] A survey conducted in 1906 of the reading habits of colonial girls concluded that the colonial girls were actually better read, in general, than their British counterparts. Of New Zealand, it said: "Some of the New Zealand girls' papers were equal to the very best English or Scotch, and the varied nature of their reading was astonishing".[43] The colonial girls were also credited with better spelling and depth of knowledge of different authors.

Another British institution that was re-created enthusiastically in New Zealand was the newspaper. The first newspaper in Canterbury was set up in Lyttelton in early 1851, just twenty-six days after the first printing presses arrived on board the *Charlotte Jane*. Eric McCormick mentions the many newspapers produced in the earliest days of the colony, "on one occasion with the aid of a mangle".[44] According to Dennis McEldowney, "printing presses were stowed in the first emigrant ships as a matter of course" and the printed items required to establish the new settlements, like

[41] Preston, in Griffith, Harvey and Maslen (eds.), p. 157.
[42] Stanley Unwin, "English Books Abroad", in Basil Blackwell (ed.), *The Book World* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1935), p. 173.
[43] Constance A. Barnicoat, "The Reading of the Colonial Girl", *Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review*, 60:358 (1906), p. 944.
[44] McCormick (1940), p. 51.

newspapers and official proclamations, were being "peeled off them within days of landing".[45]

Once established, newspapers were popular and widely read. In 1885 the population was around half a million and "100 newspapers were being produced, 30 of them dailies".[46] In 1926 there were 61 daily newspapers in print throughout the country. The *New Zealand Official Yearbook* provides figures for the number of registered newspapers in New Zealand for each year. In 1933 there were 281 registered newspapers: 55 daily, 64 weekly, and more that were fortnightly or monthly.[47] That a lot of people were relatively isolated in rural areas was also no great barrier to the consumption of printed information; in fact, it encouraged it. As Ross Harvey says, "Geographical conditions in New Zealand were particularly conducive to the establishment of small-town newspapers".[48] Smaller communities often had their own presses, and the weekly newspapers were particularly targeted to rural areas (although many had to close during World War II due to lack of manpower). Newspapers and the like were an important tool of colonial assertion. According to Evans, the disproportionate number of small colonial newspapers gave "small communities a sense of regional community by pulling local information together" while also maintaining ties to "Home" by reproducing information from Britain. [49]

New Zealand's extreme isolation in a far-flung corner of the Pacific has been regarded as a disadvantage for artists and writers. Literary commentators have assumed that being so far from the centres of cultural production meant that New

---

[45] Dennis McEldowney, "Publishing, Patronage and Literary Magazines", in Sturm (ed.), *OHNZL*, p. 546.
[46] Rogers and Rogers, p. 2.
[47] New Zealand Department of Censuses and Statistics, *The New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1934 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1933), p. 239.
[48] Ross Harvey, "Newspapers", in Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, Keith Maslen (eds.), *Book and Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997), p. 130.
[49] Patrick Evans, *Penguin History of New Zealand Literature* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), p. 25.

Zealanders were denied access to art and literature. Some believed that culture had frozen at the point of contact with the new land. According to Monte Holcroft, "earlier writers had worked as Englishmen in a new country; their successors, born in New Zealand near the turn of the century, were reared on English literature but were cut off from its self-renewing influences".[50] Keith Sinclair, who investigated the effects of isolation on New Zealand in his edited work *Distance Looks Our Way*, later took a more moderate and accurate view. He uses the term "peripheral survival", which he defines as "the tendency for the periphery to lag behind the centre in cultural change".[51] More recently, Patrick Evans has also talked of this lack of innovation, saying that "for Victorian colonials ... literature was a gift received rather than a mechanism to tinker with: the right way of doing things had long been perfected by the great figures of the age".[52]

On the contrary, however, the cultural information that New Zealanders had access to was not "frozen" at the point at which the emigrants left Britain, or limited to the artefacts they had brought with them. New Zealand maintained communication with Britain through larger networks based on the wider colonial world, at least until World War II. The legacy of Britain's colonial expansion, and the resultant ties New Zealand had to Britain meant that the business of literary consumption and production could be conducted through the "colonial writing world". This was a system of networks that facilitated the dissemination of literature throughout the British colonies and ex-colonies.

New Zealand's place in the colonial writing world meant that physical distance from Britain was not as great a difficulty as widely assumed. It is true that

---

[50] Monte Holcroft, "A Professional Expatriate", in Ray Knox (ed.), *New Zealand's Heritage*, 6 (Wellington: Paul Hamlyn, c1973), p. 2210.
[51] Keith Sinclair, *Distance Looks Our Way* (Auckland: Paul's Book Arcade, 1961), p. 33.
[52] Evans (1990), p. 41.

consumers in New Zealand would have experienced a delay in receiving the latest information, but the magnitude of this problem has been greatly exaggerated. The continuing links allowed the constant renewal of cultural information. In the words of Lydia Wevers:

> Books, newspapers and their seductive companions, the illustrated magazines, ensured that readers everywhere stayed connected to Britain, and particularly to London's intellectual culture—and, thanks to the ubiquity of lending libraries, the circulation of ideas and narratives about Britishness and the empire was a normal part of daily life wherever you lived.[53]

This is what Peter Gibbons is referring to in his 2003 article "The Far Side of the Search For Identity" when he writes that "the country's isolation has probably been overemphasized by poets and other commentators, to the extent that the frequency and firmness of links to the rest of the world have been underestimated".[54] Eddy and Schreuder, commenting on the "vitality of 'British connections' within colonial new societies", say there was "A frequent interchange of goods, capital and migrants, not to mention news and commodity prices, [which] encouraged the not unreasonable notion of an enduring 'Greater Britain' beyond the seas".[55] Links were numerous and frequently utilised.

These links actually strengthened over time rather than growing more distant as the colony matured. Rather than relegating New Zealand to the "colonial periphery", new technologies turned the country into a "modern member of empire", with even stronger links with Britain.[56] Felicity Barnes goes so far as to say that "New Zealand at the turn of the century was no longer separated from its centre by time and

---

[53] Wevers (2010), p. 19.
[54] Peter Gibbons, "The Far Side of the Search For Identity", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37:1 (2003), p. 6.
[55] John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder, *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa First Assert Their Identities* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988), p. 31.
[56] Felicity Barnes, "New Zealand's London: The Metropolis and New Zealand's Culture, 1890-1940", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 2008), pp. 3-8.

space"[57] which is a little extreme as New Zealand remained 10,000 miles and six weeks journey from Britain. However, existing links and communications were greatly improved in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. With the introduction of steamships, says James Belich, "the length of the voyage from New Zealand to Britain fell by about two-thirds between the 1870s and the 1900s".[58] The completion of telegraph communications with Britain via Sydney (through 15,757 miles of telegraph cable[59]) in 1876 meant that up-to-the-minute news could be printed in local newspapers, and that New Zealanders did not have to wait weeks for the English print version to make its way across the sea.

Most people maintained links with British relatives or friends and the lines of communication stayed open through the exchange of letters, or through visits. Brancepeth Station records state that in 1903 the station sent out 40,000 letters, 140 newspapers, 122 samples (of all kinds of goods) and 102 parcels, books and photos", and the volume of inwards mail would have been even greater.[60]

There was a regular flow of new literary material into New Zealand through its participation in the colonial world. Fiction by British authors was serialised in local newspapers, purchased from agencies like the McClure Newspaper Syndicate. Many New Zealanders received British publications by subscription in the mail: British immigrants were advised to arrange, before leaving, "to receive a file of some weekly London paper".[61] G. R. Gilbert grew up in Westport in the 1920s and wrote about the publications that arrived at his grandfather's shop there:

> Every month or so the service car … brought the bundles of periodicals and books from 'overseas'. There were magazines, *Pearson's*, *The Strand*,

[57] Felicity Barnes, p. 10.
[58] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), p. 68.
[59] Cable Bay Holiday Park, *History of Cable Bay Station*, http://www.cablebayfarm.co.nz/history2.html (updated 8 Sept 2009).
[60] Wevers (2010), p. 143.
[61] E. J. Wakefield, "Advice to Intending Colonists", in Hankin (1981), p. 39.

> *Windsor*, *Wide World*, *Punch*, *Bystander*, *Illustrated London News*, and the *Tatler*, as well as bound copies, a month's supply stapled together, of the *Daily Sketch* and the *Daily Mirror*, two popular English tabloid magazines.[62]

Books were imported in great numbers as well, as it was usually cheaper to do this than have them published locally. This was because, with the exception of Whitcombe & Tombs, there were no single local companies that looked after all the stages of book production (publishing, printing and selling), so the product suffered from a mark-up in price in between each stage. In order to print overseas books locally, a colonial printer would have had to reset all the type, a lengthy and costly task. The small number of sales in New Zealand could not possibly have financed the cost, except in the case of school textbooks. Whitcombe & Tombs came to dominate the market for school books because "as publisher-printers who sold many of their books from their own bookshops, they could choose not to take a full profit 'mark up' at each stage of the book's progress from manuscript to school room".[63] They also had the advantage of local knowledge about the appropriate curricula, as well as lower transport costs for delivery. They published literature as well, but this did not have the guaranteed demand that educational publishing offered. In the case of schoolbooks, imported books could not compete in price with locally produced ones, but in other cases books from British publishers worked out cheaper.

Literature was made even more accessible to those living in the colonies by the introduction of the "colonial edition". Most British publishers brought out a colonial edition of the books they published. These were the same in terms of content as editions of the books sold in Britain, but destined for the colonies. Writing on the history of the book in Australia, Martyn Lyons explains: "the colonial edition did not

---

[62] G. R. Gilbert, "A Reading Writing Man", unpublished manuscript, MS 957, *Macmillan Brown Library (MBL)*, Christchurch, p. 49.
[63] Hugh Price, "Educational Publishing", in Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, Keith Maslen (eds.), *Book and Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997), p. 145.

usually have a different text from the English or 'home' edition, but the text was packaged differently. It might have a new title page announcing the colonial series of which it was a part, and it would be bound in cheap 'colonial cloth', or 'C.C.' as it was known in the trade".[64] The "colonial edition" was usually not an example of colonial fiction, but rather "popular British fiction put on the market at one title each fortnight".[65] A lot of British publishers (like Macmillan, for example) had "colonial libraries", and published lists of the books available in these series. These editions were cheaper, and formed part of a multiple production of editions.

From this it can be inferred that publishers were trying to redress any perceived imbalance that distance might cause. An advertisement in the *Times of India* stated the aim of Macmillan's Colonial Library, which was to

> give English readers out here the same advantages that are enjoyed at home by those who live close to one of Mudie's agencies, or one of W. H. Smith's bookstalls. The individual book-buyer, and there are too few of them in India, now, will get a great deal more for his money than he ever got before…[66]

Nineteenth-century novels were usually published in an expensive, three-volume format, and were too costly for mass sale in New Zealand or other colonies. The cheaper, single volume, colonial editions gave local booksellers an extra incentive to sell them, according to Luke Trainor. Trainor also relates that "there is some evidence" that the cheaper editions were a response to fear of being undercut by American publishers, as the United States "did not subscribe to the general exchange of the protection of original work of national authors".[67]

---

[64] Martyn Lyons, "Britain's Largest Export Market", in Martyn Lyons and John Arnold (eds.), *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2001), pp. 22-3.
[65] Luke Trainor, "Colonial Editions", in Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, Keith Maslen (eds.), *Book and Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997), p. 113.
[66] Endnote, in Harry Vogel, *A Maori Maid* (London: Macmillan, 1898), p. 402.
[67] Trainor, p. 114. For a detailed discussion of the prices of colonial editions see Graeme Johanson, *Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843-1972* (Wellington: Elibank Press, 2000), pp. 159-210.

Cultural nationalism has taught us to focus on the negative aspects of British control over literary production in New Zealand. Writing in the cultural nationalist tradition, Luke Trainor suggests that the phenomenon of the colonial edition "offers a window on the British dominance of book culture in New Zealand until the third quarter of the twentieth century and what that meant for local print culture".[68]

In fact, in the early twentieth century this was not such a problem, as it is anachronistic to draw a dividing line between "New Zealand culture" and "British culture" at this time. Immigrants from Britain naturally continued to possess the many centuries of British culture and tradition which were theirs from birth and to pass this cultural legacy on to their children. It was not a borrowed culture, it was simply *their* culture. Cultural information is stored in memories, not in places, so it was not left behind when the colonists sailed from Britain. As Jock Phillips has said, "the Pakeha of nineteenth-century New Zealand were not cultureless people somehow stripped of all habits and traditions by the voyage out".[69] It is only a cultural nationalist viewpoint that does not allow for imported British traditions legitimately "belonging" to the colonial New Zealanders.

The cultural nationalists dismissed writing from before the 1930s because it lacked "authenticity". This, however, was an anachronistic application of principles that were irrelevant to much of early twentieth-century literature. New Zealanders, as members of a British world system at this time, were interested in what made them nationally distinctive, but this meant distinctive *within* British culture and the Empire rather than distinct *from* it. Keith Sinclair once observed that New Zealanders had their own identity but were also a "nation of imperialists", and "the New Zealander

---

[68] Trainor, p. 111.
[69] Jock Phillips, "Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24:2 (1990), p. 119.

never did consider his two loyalties incompatible".[70] Eddy and Schreuder, in *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism* (about Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa), say: "Just as 'Englishmen' could claim to be both democrats and monarchists, so colonists saw no tension in being nationalists and imperialists".[71]

These New Zealanders took pride in being a distinct, potentially superior, brand of colonial Briton, measuring themselves against the original version. When Sir John Hall's New Zealand-born son was sent to be educated at Oxford, Hall was proud to see that he compared favourably to his "British contemporaries", expressing pleasure "that my boy should be upholding the character of Colonists for strength & manliness".[72] The same kind of sentiment applied to New Zealanders' pride at the way New Zealand soldiers conducted themselves in the South African War and World War I, as a superior kind of British soldiery. O. E. Burton was a 2nd Lieutenant in the Auckland Regiment in World War I, and in *The New Zealand Division* he described the New Zealanders as "the children of a splendid pioneer stock ... the very finest of material for the making of a fine army". Later he recounted that "the majority were used to a hard, open-air life, and the townsmen were men whose athletic habits had made them as fit as those from the countryside".[73] New Zealanders saw themselves as particularly hardy Britons, their physical prowess enhanced by their pioneering history, even when they had not come from a rural environment.

This type of colonial nationalism manifested itself also in cultural creations like the hopeful manifesto of the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* in 1899. The magazine's first editorial declared that it was "the vessel by which the young scion of

---

[70] Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1959), p. 221.
[71] Eddy and Schreuder, p. 6.
[72] Hall was New Zealand Premier 1879-82. John Hall to George Williamson Hall, Private Letter Book, 17 December 1885, p. 304, Hororata Collection, in Jean Garner, *By His Own Merits* (Hororata: Dryden Press, 1995), p. 199.
[73] Ormond Edward Burton, *The New Zealand Division* (Auckland: Clark & Matheson, 1936), p. 10 & p. 9.

New Zealand national life has begun to awake to a knowledge of itself".[74] A "scion" is a twig, or offshoot of a parent plant, so its use here conjures the image of New Zealand nationalism as a younger, local version of Britishness, still very much tied to the original. As Jock Phillips has noted, this local version was often produced by the use of appropriated Māori cultural elements to give a local flavour to things, and the country itself was often referred to as "Maoriland".[75] According to Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, this served to "provide the descendants of the settlers with a history peculiar to themselves", where perhaps they felt they did not have a "history" before.[76] Nationalism is not a fixed concept: it means different things to different people at different times. People were quite happy merging seemingly disparate elements, and what might have seemed problematic later did not seem so at the time. Edith Lyttleton's novel *Promenade* features the young children of English immigrants, brought up first at Russell then in Auckland, who display these relaxed cultural tendencies: "Tiffany and Roddy (with sometimes Hemi and Eriti Fleete) had a private world where they trafficked gloriously with goats, giants, Maori tohungas, Queen Victoria, and a Chinese god called Pang out of a book of Major Henry's".[77] The kind of autochthonous nationalism that Curnow and others were thinking of seems to have been something that was entirely foreign to writers of the earlier period.

A purely nationalist approach can only lead to inaccurate historical representations. This is particularly true in the case of New Zealand where the influence of other countries has been so important. Miles Fairburn has argued that the only truly all-encompassing "national" trait of New Zealand is that it is so completely the product of outside influences. What "made New Zealand distinct", says Fairburn,

---

[74] H. A. Talbot-Tubbs, "Introductory", *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, 1:1 (1899), p. 5.
[75] Jock Phillips, "Musings in Maoriland", *Historical Studies*, 20:81 (1983), p.527.
[76] Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), p. 11.
[77] Edith Lyttleton, *Promenade* (London: John Lane, 1938), p. 98.

was "the abnormal degree to which its people have borrowed from other cultures".[78] The very inward-looking focus of the cultural nationalists has served to obscure the literary efforts of a very outward-looking group of people.

All the dominance of British-origin literature means, then, is that New Zealanders had access to affordable editions of up-to-date literature, and were further able to participate in the colonial writing world. The supposed conflict between imported British culture and New Zealand culture was not an issue at the time because they were one and the same thing. There is, therefore, no justification for Chris Hilliard's surprise that "[Pat] Lawlor appears to have felt no tension between his love of English literature, including the work of self-consciously English writers, and his sense of New Zealandness".[79] There is absolutely no reason why Lawlor should have felt such a tension, and expressions of Britishness within a New Zealand context were just as genuine as deliberate attempts at indigenous authenticity. This comes as no surprise once we view the period on its own terms and realise that New Zealanders were both colonials and Britons, unselfconsciously part of the colonial writing world.

1.2 Creating literature in New Zealand

Just as the pursuit of literature and culture had reached and occupied this distant outpost of the colonial world, so had the impulse to *create* works of literature. Edith Searle Grossmann's 1910 novel, *The Heart of the Bush*, paints a picture of a land awash with literary ambition: even Kate, the Borlases' maid in the novel, is in the habit of scribbling down stray poems in the margins of newspapers.[80] Such literary

[78] Miles Fairburn, "Is There A Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?" *Thesis Eleven*, 92 (2008), p. 45.
[79] Hilliard (2006), p. 13.
[80] Edith Searle Grossmann, *The Heart of the Bush* (London: Sands, 1910), p. 88.

ambition was allegedly thwarted, however, because of the lack of outlets for it. R. A. K Mason had his first book of poems, *The Beggar*, privately printed by Whitcombe & Tombs in 1924, and the book received so little interest that he later is supposed to have "dumped a bundle of 200 copies in the Waitemata Harbour".[81] This story is debatable,[82] but *The Beggar* certainly did not receive the recognition it deserved.

Up until the 1930s Whitcombe & Tombs was New Zealand's single large publishing firm, and it was mostly concerned with publishing history, biography and school text books. Fiction was rare, but it did publish "many slim volumes of verse"[83] nearly always paid for by the authors and sold on commission. This more often than not turned into a costly exercise. Robin Hyde's first book was a collection of poems called *The Desolate Star*, which was published by Whitcombe & Tombs. In 1931, 250 copies had been sold, but Hyde was still getting "accounts for some £9".[84] Whitcombe and Tombs' monopoly could lead to troubles for authors: on the publication of *New Zealand Bird Songs* Eileen Duggan was promised half of the profits, but she was given no copy of the contract. She wrote to Nettie Palmer: "In spite of requests I have never had a balance sheet", nor had she seen any profits, though she knew the book was selling well.[85] Other companies provided just printing services but left the author with the burden of cost, advertising and distribution. Simpson & Williams of Christchurch was one such institution, and it printed several of Jessie Mackay's books of verse. It was not until the mid-thirties that any real alternative to Whitcombe &

---

[81] Andrew Mason, "R. A. K. Mason", in Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature (OCNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 366.
[82] "Another, less romantic version has Mason at home in Ellerslie bundling the *Beggars* into a fire in the washhouse copper" (Barrowman, p. 13).
[83] Dennis McEldowney, pp. 556-7.
[84] Derek Challis and Gloria Rawlinson, *The Book of Iris* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), p. 183.
[85] Eileen Duggan to Nettie Palmer, 1935, Duggan papers, MS Papers 0801 2/5, *Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL)*, Wellington.

Tombs existed with the creation of institutions such as the Caxton and Unicorn presses which were set up with the intention of publishing local literature.

Participation in overseas publishing networks would not have been possible if local literary culture had been completely absent from New Zealand. Writers must begin somewhere and receive encouragement at an early stage of their careers. Practice is needed before the task of creating a novel or collection of verse is attempted. Indeed, a vigorous literary culture did exist in New Zealand at this time, although those influenced by cultural nationalism have been reluctant to recognise it.

One important way writers were encouraged early on in their careers was through the abundance of newspapers the country offered. These provided a useful and fairly easily accessible outlet for aspiring writers' work. Many New Zealand writers began their careers writing for local newspapers and would later credit the editors of these newspapers with supporting their fledging literary ambitions. In his early days, Rex Fairburn had poems "almost weekly" in "The Bookmen's Corner" of the Auckland *Sun*.[86] Other significant New Zealand poets began this way: Ursula Bethell, Robin Hyde, Eileen Duggan and Geoffrey de Montalk all received early encouragement from seeing their names in print in one of the local dailies. The weekly papers also printed poems, and the dailies had occasional supplements which ran literary competitions. Success in these competitions launched the careers of several writers. For example, Alice A. Kenny won second prize in a short story competition run by the Auckland *Star* in 1890. Following this, she became a regular contributor of lyrical verse and short stories to many periodicals and went on to write novels.[87] It was also common for longer prose works to be serialised in publications, thus ensuring that novel writers were catered for as well. Various stories written by

[86] Challis and Rawlinson, p. 186.
[87] Nancy Swarbrick, "Kenny, Alice Annie 1875-1960", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)*, http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/ (updated 22 June 2007).

Monte Holcroft were serialised in New Zealand newspapers, such as "The Hateful Valley" in 1934 in the Christchurch *Sun*.[88] Upon returning from overseas in 1932, Jane Mander went so far as to say there was too much encouragement by newspapers:

> I have heard much complaint already since landing that N.Z. papers do not encourage their own authors… This is nonsense. There is far too much encouragement for would-be authors in this country… I have been astonished by the amount of it.[89]

Though the writers did not earn a great deal of money from their enterprises, perhaps half a day's wages for one poem if anything at all,[90] the newspapers had high circulations and publication in one would guarantee useful exposure and the recognition of influential editors. Such exposure might well have led to the formation of a group of admirers who would be interested in purchasing a book of verse.

Some newspaper editors were particularly sympathetic to the efforts of local writers and contributed much to the cultivation of literary achievement. For example, Reginald O'Neill in *The Story of a Newspaper* praised the contribution of the editors of the Christchurch *Press*, and said that "under [Michael] Keane's administration, the literary page became an important focus for a generation of New Zealand-grown literary craftsmen".[91] He also mentioned "M. C. Keane's literary feast in the 1920s".[92] O'Neill's book was commissioned for the *Press*' centenary, and as a result his

---

[88] Stephen Hamilton, "Montague Harry Holcroft, 1902-1993", *Kōtare 2008: Special Issue – Essays in New Zealand Literary Biography Series Two: "Early Male Prose Writers"* (Wellington: Victoria University, 2008), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi072Kota-t1-g1-t17.html.
[89] Jane Mander, "N.Z. Writing", manuscript of a radio talk, c1932, Mander papers, NZMS 535, *Auckland Public Library (APL).*
[90] Robin Hyde in 1931 bemoaned living in "a country where a writer of verse can consider him or herself overpaid if ten and sixpence is proffered for a contribution to any of the newspapers", "A Poetaster on Poets", *Observer*, 5 March 1931, in Challis and Rawlinson, p. 181. The median yearly income for 1926 (there was no census in 1931 due to the Napier earthquake) was £235, thus 10 shillings and sixpence represents just under an average day's wages. New Zealand Department of Censuses and Statistics, *Incomes* (Wellington: Department of Censuses and Statistics, 1926).
[91] Reginald O'Neill, *The Press, 1861-1961: the Story of a Newspaper* (Christchurch: Christchurch Press, 1963), p. 182.
[92] O'Neill, p. 121.

comments have a celebratory bias, but they do tie in with other evidence.[93] Michael Keane was the editor of the *Press* from 1919 to 1929, and his successor Oliver Duff continued his policy. Together they encouraged and printed local writers, including Ngaio Marsh, Monte Holcroft and D'Arcy Cresswell.[94] John Schroder, literary editor of the Christchurch *Sun* in the 1920s and the *Press* from 1929, had a similarly good reputation. The Auckland *Sun*, an offshoot of the Christchurch *Sun*'s success, also developed a good name as a literary outlet. Percy Crisp was the editor, and the foreword to Eileen Duggan's *New Zealand Bird Songs* states that he was "always ready to help any national and literary effort in New Zealand".[95] Fairburn also recognised his efforts, commending Crisp's efforts in a letter to Geoffrey de Montalk: "Compare the 'Sun' with the 'Herald' !!! My God".[96] Winifred Tennant, a little-known writer of poems and the writer of the children's page of the Auckland *Sun* for a time, wrote to Pat Lawlor of the "spur to endeavour" that Crisp's encouraging notes were.[97] Charles Marris, Alan Mulgan and Schroder were all variously praised for their efforts in assisting writers. Eileen Duggan said of Charles Marris that he had a "real devotion to the cause of New Zealand literature",[98] and of Alan Mulgan that he "used his position as literary editor to inspire and to forward beginners".[99]

The success of these newspapers in assisting New Zealand writers was, in fact, pretty much entirely dependent on this small group of "bookmen", as Chris Hilliard has called them.[100] An indication of the importance of individuals can be seen in the reaction to the publication of Ursula Bethell's second book. The first, *From a Garden*

---

[93] See page 45—there was a high level of local literary content in the *Press* in the 1920s.
[94] Dennis McEldowney, "Duff, Oliver 1883 – 1967", *DNZB* (updated 7 Apr 2006).
[95] Eileen Duggan, "Foreword", *New Zealand Bird Songs* (Wellington: Harry T. Tombs. 1929).
[96] Rex Fairburn to Geoffrey de Montalk, 15 June 1927, Letters from Rex Fairburn, MS Papers 2461/3, *ATL*.
[97] Winifred Tennant to Pat Lawlor, 28 Apr 1936, Lawlor papers, Ref 77-067 5/2, *ATL*.
[98] Eileen Duggan to Nettie Palmer, 1930, MS Papers 801 2/3, *ATL*.
[99] Eileen Duggan, testimonial regarding Alan Mulgan, c. 1936, Mulgan papers, MS Papers 0224-16, *ATL*.
[100] Hilliard (2006).

in the Antipodes, was published in London in 1929 and reviewed in the *Press*. Her second collection of verse, *Time and Place* was published in Christchurch by the Caxton Press but not reviewed in the *Press* because the literary editor, John Schroder, was away and the "juniors on the staff were not aware of Bethell's significance as a previous contributor".[101] It is telling that the absence of one person could have had such a profound effect.

The influence of individuals can also be seen in the quantity of pages devoted to literature under their editorship. In 1916 Schroder's literary section in the *Sun* took up half a page (out of 12). By 1925 the "Among the Books" section took up nearly a whole page, and there were usually at least two original poems by New Zealanders included. This was not due to a large increase in the size of the paper, as by 1925 the paper had hardly grown at all on weekdays, fluctuating between twelve and sixteen pages (twenty-four on Saturdays). When Schroder left for the *Press* in 1929, the number of original poems published in the *Sun* dropped off markedly, and by 1934 was almost back to pre-Schroder levels. By this time, too, the literary column had shrunk back to half a page, with the size of the paper remaining relatively unchanged. The literary page of the Christchurch *Press* had a similar high point, correlating with the reign of influential editors in the 1920s.[102]

These literary men and others attempted at various times to launch dedicated literary periodicals within New Zealand, but they were few and short-lived, making only a small contribution to literary achievement. There were a few attempts to establish literary magazines to publish original local writing, but these rarely lasted long. *Zealandia* was established in 1889, but failed to last out the year, and the next

[101] Charlotte Elder, "An Annotated Edition of the Correspondence Between Ursula Bethell and John Schroder", MA Thesis (Victoria University, 1999), p. 15.
[102] From a systematic study of these newspapers.

attempt, *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* in 1899, met a similar fate.[103] According to Dennis McEldowney, no other publications emerged between 1906 and 1930.[104] Inadequately filling the gap were student magazines and supplements to newspapers. McEldowney neglects to mention the quarterly *Art in New Zealand*, which was edited by Charles Marris and published by Harry Tombs, and which began in 1928. Though this primarily focused on visual art, it did feature the poems of prominent New Zealand writers such as Eileen Duggan, Robin Hyde, C. R. Allen, and Mona Tracy. Pat Lawlor also began two fairly unsuccessful journals, the *New Zealand Artists' Annual* and the New Zealand edition of *Aussie* magazine, but dismissed them himself as containing much that was "ephemeral, if not trivial".[105]

Only one purely literary periodical was remotely successful before the 1947 launch of Charles Brasch's *Landfall*. This exception to the trend is the remarkable success of the *Triad*. G.A.K. Baughen estimates that by 1897, only three years after it was launched, it had a circulation of 10,000: "enough to supply one copy to every fifteenth New Zealand household".[106] Jane Mander wrote in 1909 that the *Triad* was the only thing that kept her from "preaching temperance, or making draughty garments for the superfluous heathen, or marrying a Sunday School teacher".[107] The *Triad* had an international reputation as well. It came to the attention of Ezra Pound, a major figure in the modernist movement, who was interested in the verse of a regular *Triad* contributor, Alice A. Kenny. Judith Wild describes the editors of the *Triad* as unimpressed by this attention, as was Kenny.[108] For all the excitement the *Triad*

---

[103] Dennis McEldowney, p.552.
[104] Dennis McEldowney, p. 558.
[105] Pat Lawlor, Draft of "N.Z. Writing: A Survey" (c1962), 77-067 7/2, *ATL*, p. 3.
[106] Gregory Andrew Keith Baughen, "C.N. Baeyertz and The Triad 1893-1915", BA(Hons) Thesis, (University of Otago, 1980), p. 14.
[107] McGregor, Rae, *The Story of a New Zealand Writer: Jane Mander* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1998), p. 34.
[108] Judith Wild, "The Literary Periodical in New Zealand", MA Thesis (Victoria University College, 1951), p. 17.

generated, the views expressed by its editors were not at all shockingly innovative, and their reaction to "modern" writing was encapsulated in their reaction to Ezra Pound's interest. Baughen attributed the *Triad*'s unusual success to the audacity of Charles Baeyertz, the editor. The *Triad* on the first page of every issue declared itself to be the "most courageous, conscientious and candid magazine in the Dominion…unique in its style and function".[109] This seemed to involve Baeyertz's being "rather excitingly rude to almost everyone",[110] as Robin Hyde put it. The editors were not particularly interested in local writing, and McEldowney went on to say that the *Triad* "did not discover or nurture any strikingly interesting writers".[111]

As well as this, several magazines that had less high-brow ambitions published the work of local writers and became useful ways to get into print. Because of small audiences, magazines that published local writing but were dedicated to some other cause often fared better financially. Religious publications which sometimes offered an outlet and an audience for writing included the Catholic *New Zealand Tablet*, whose editors encouraged Eileen Duggan. *Art in New Zealand* may well have owed its limited success to the fact that it was mostly devoted to the visual arts, but it published poetry and short stories as well. General interest magazines, such as *The Mirror*, often published verse or short fiction. The *New Zealand Railways Magazine* was launched in 1926, carrying railway news and technical articles, and promoting domestic tourism through travel stories, photo spreads, advertisements and accommodation listings. It soon expanded to include "New Zealand verse, short fiction, humour, sports news, historical yarns, biographical sketches and book

[109] Charles Baeyertz, *The Triad*, 20:10 (Jan 1913), p. 1.
[110] Robin Hyde, *Journalese* (Auckland: National Printing Company, 1934), p. 21.
[111] Dennis McEldowney, p. 555.

reviews".[112] From 1935 to 1936 Robin Hyde contributed a travel series called "On the Road to Anywhere: Adventures of a Train Tramp". The version of this magazine in the *New Zealand Electronic Text Centre* reveals many pieces by New Zealand poets and prose writers that may not have seen the light of day otherwise. Such outlets offered better prospects than purely literary magazines that were very expensive because of the small market. Jane Mander complained in 1934 of C. R. Allen's asking £1 in advance for his periodical *Golden Fleece*. Mander said: "who would pay 2/6 regularly for a magazine of such tripe as N.Z. writers get out?"[113] This is from someone who actively sponsored and encouraged emerging writers. A much safer option was to include literary content in another publication already guaranteed of success.

Despite the fact that New Zealand publishing was limited, a surprising number of locally published novels, short story collections and books of verse survive with copies in the Alexander Turnbull Library or other libraries throughout the country. Even though these generally had small print runs, and were sometimes financed by the author, the fact that there were so many of them attests to a high level of literary activity. They amount to 43 per cent of all the books written down to the late 1930s by New Zealand authors.[114] This was a large percentage when considered against the cultural nationalists' claim that publishing in New Zealand was next to impossible. The figure is 48 per cent for the period 1890 to 1945, when 345 books out of a total of 718 written by New Zealand authors were published locally. It must be acknowledged that a high percentage of these publications were small books of poetry with short

---

[112] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Railways Magazine – Rail Tourism", *New Zealand History Online*, http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/rail-tourism/railways-magazine (updated 7 Apr 2008).
[113] Jane Mander to Monte Holcroft, 17 May 1934, Holcroft papers, MS Papers 1186/16, *ATL*.
[114] From my data: books published in New Zealand by New Zealand authors from 1890-1935. See Appendix A. This excludes the 120 books published by Fergus Hume, as do all the figures where indicated. Because of his unusually prolific output, he is considered an outlier whose inclusion would distort the statistics.

print runs published by newspaper subsidiaries, or companies like Whitcombe & Tombs. Novels, as we shall see, were more likely to be published in Britain.

Later on there were more and more small presses set up with the intention of publishing literature. The Caxton Press was of course one, inspired by the efforts of Bob Lowry.[115] Lowry began by establishing the Auckland University College Students' Association Press in 1932, which was responsible for *Phoenix*, and went on to start the Unicorn Press in 1934 and later the Pelorus Press. Noel Hoggard and the Handcraft Press in Wellington also printed a number of original works.

In investigating New Zealand's literary culture down to 1945, it is easy to document the extensive links between writers and publishers and between writers and newspapers or periodicals. Still more links existed between the authors themselves. According to the cultural nationalists, New Zealand writers suffered lonely lives in a land without literary networks. There was little contact between writers, according to Robert Chapman in 1953,[116] and few opportunities for writers to adopt a place outside of society as observers. Eileen Duggan's sorrowful lines in the poem "Heralds" have all too often been read as the final word on the subject: "we are but stumblers in the hinterlands, / Too few for linking hands".[117]

While it is true that the population of New Zealand was small and fairly well dispersed, networks that allowed discussion and collaboration could still form between writers. In New Zealand, numbers were too few to allow a fringe or bohemian subculture to form and encourage *avant-garde* literary innovation, but there were fledgling literary networks. A dispersed population was not an insurmountable

---

[115] "Full of envy of the production of *Phoenix* and the establishment of the Auckland University College Students' Association Press—dreadful mouthful—I thought it was time that Canterbury did something of the sort". Denis Glover, *Hot Water Sailor; & Landlubber Ho!* (Auckland: Collins, 1981), p. 82.
[116] Robert Chapman, "Fiction and the Social Pattern", *Landfall*, 7:1 (March 1953), p. 31.
[117] Eileen Duggan, "Heralds", *Poems* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1937), p. 13.

obstacle to the formation of literary networks in a time where corresponding by letter was a common form of communication. Internal postal systems were well developed by this time, and the country boasted "1700 post offices by 1900, handling 70 million post articles".[118] If writers were enterprising enough they could strike up their own relationships with other writers. Even if living in remote areas, they were able to get advice and encouragement from more established writers by communicating with them by letter. Eileen Duggan, for example, communicated with fellow poet Jessie Mackay. Mackay lived in Christchurch, Duggan lived in Wellington, but this was no great handicap. Eventually they arranged a meeting, as Duggan informed Nettie Palmer in 1924: "I met Jessie Mackay last week. She had written to me before, but it was our first meeting".[119] Mackay acted as one of Duggan's literary mentors, and in turn Duggan sponsored younger writers, acting as a go-between with publishers and other writers. Eileen Duggan wrote to Nancy Bruce in 1957 offering to speak to "Mr Reed" (the publisher) on her behalf: "a few weeks before, Mr. Reed asked if he might call to discuss a matter of copyright. I thought that when I knew him a bit better I might discuss the matter of your poems with him".[120] Reed published Bruce's collection of poems, *Home is the Warrior*, in 1964. Duggan also established correspondences with many other writers, including Rex Fairburn, who wrote her "frank, unorthodox epistles".[121] Fairburn, in turn, struck up a literary correspondence with Geoffrey de Montalk whom he remembered from primary school. He wrote to him in 1926 reminding him of "a little golden-haired, blue-eyed boy ... who used to kick round with you" in Standard I at Remuera School.[122] Even Robin Hyde, who

[118] Felicity Barnes, p. 8.
[119] Eileen Duggan to Nettie Palmer, 1924, MS Papers 801 2/2, *ATL*.
[120] Eileen Duggan to Nancy Bruce, 24 June 1957, Nancy Bruce papers (private collection), Christchurch.
[121] Duggan to Palmer, 1930, MS Papers 801 2/3, *ATL*.
[122] Fairburn to de Montalk, 21 July 1936, MS Papers 2461/4, *ATL*.

complained that she had "no-one in Auckland that she could turn to for assurance and criticism", talked of "all her scribbling friends… 'the gang'",[123] and corresponded regularly with John Schroder in Christchurch, receiving feedback and literary companionship.[124]

In some cases, usually but not always in the four main centres, small communities of writers did evolve. Fairburn and R. A. K. Mason were two of the most vocal protestors about the lack of support for writers, yet were fortunate enough to have each other's company. They met while at Auckland Grammar and were great friends, meeting regularly, walking and having lengthy discussions about "everything under the sun".[125] James Bertram, Ian Milner and Charles Brasch reportedly had a secret society devoted to "poetry, D.H. Lawrence, and sun worship" while at Waitaki Boy's High School in Oamaru in the 1920s.[126] Ursula Bethell and Jane Mander presided over their own little groups. Bethell patronised Toss Woollaston, the artist and many others, leading Charles Brasch to say that she was "the centre of an astonishingly diverse circle of interesting people".[127] Woollaston recounts in his autobiography that Bethell employed him as a gardener in his youth so they could "converse without the strain of continuity, and my income would be happily augmented".[128] Through her he met many others, including D'Arcy Cresswell, "a strange author" that Bethell knew of.[129]

---

[123] Challis and Rawlinson, p. 105.
[124] Challis and Rawlinson, p. 186.
[125] "R. A. K. Mason on Rex Fairburn", 1957, transcript, Auckland University Library, pp. 15-16, in Barrowman, p. 47.
[126] James McNeish, *Dance of the Peacocks: New Zealanders in Exile at the Time of Hitler and Mao Tse-tung* (Auckland: Vintage, 2003), p. 21.
[127] Charles Brasch, *Indirections, A Memoir* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1980), in Jill Trevelyan, "'Perfectly Fairy-godmotherish': The Friendship of Toss Woollaston and Ursula Bethell", *Kotare* 4:1 (2001), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi041Kota-t1-g1-t1.html.
[128] Toss Woollaston, *Sage Tea* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2001), p. 216.
[129] Woollaston, p. 222.

Other networks were formed deliberately, as in Auckland in the 1920s. Isabel Maud Peacocke was heavily involved in this, being "a founding member of the New Zealand League of Penwomen, inspired by the American Penwomen's groups and started in Auckland by "an expatriated Texan", Edna Graham Macky, in 1925.[130] Hilda Rollett was also a founding member of the League of Penwomen, and ran the literary circle of the Auckland Women's Club. Noel Hoggard's magazine *Spilt Ink* (the title was borrowed from Pat Lawlor's literary gossip column) became the hub of a network of clubs in smaller towns such as Gore and Dannevirke as well as Wellington, Auckland and Dunedin.[131] It is a credit to the quality of support these clubs provided that Rollett, Isobel Andrews (a founding member of the New Zealand Women Writers and Artists' Society) and Peacocke were all highly successful writers, published overseas, while never having left New Zealand. In 1899 Frederick Rollett (Hilda's husband) was one of the leading figures in the establishment of the Auckland-based New Zealand Literary and Historical Association. Theresia Marshall relates that the Association had a "Criticising Committee", "a well-meaning if misguided initiative to provide 'advice and criticism to young writers' in order to 'prevent literary aspirants from sending crude unpolished work to [overseas] publishers'".[132] According to a piece in the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* from 1903, "Miss Edith I. [sic] Lyttleton received her training in literature from the New Zealand Literary and Historical Association. She has since been successful in securing the first prize given by the Association for the best short story of New Zealand life,

[130] Betty Gilderdale, "Peacocke, Inez Isabel Maud 1881 – 1973", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007). Though Hyde said the "actual production or appreciation of literature comes a very, very meek second to chatting over cups of tea". Hilliard (2006), pp. 24-5.
[131] Stephen Hamilton, "New Zealand English Language Periodicals of Literary Interest Active 1920s-1960s", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995), in Hilliard (2006), p. 24.
[132] *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, June 1900, p. 718, in Theresia Marshall, "New Zealand Literature in the Sydney *Bulletin*", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995), p. 67.

character and scenery, for which eighty-six competed".[133] Lyttleton, too, was a successful writer while in New Zealand.

Hilliard's "bookmen" often had a role in the formation of these networks. Literary relationships regularly began and revolved around a literary editor. When Hyde's book of verse *The Desolate Star* was published she referred to Schroder as its "literary godfather".[134] John Schroder acted as a mentor for Hyde, Gloria Rawlinson and Ursula Bethell, among others. Through Schroder, Bethell met other writers, scholars and artists, "including D'Arcy Cresswell, Eric McCormick, Monte Holcroft, Rodney Kennedy, Toss Woollaston and Basil Dowling. She became a mentor to these younger people during the 1930s and 1940s, providing encouragement and (sometimes unwelcome) advice".[135] The bookmen also set up more formal groups, recognising the need of writers to have the company of other writers. Pat Lawlor created the New Zealand Women Writers and Artists' Society, and served as the secretary of the New Zealand branch of PEN (Poets, Essayists, Novelists) founded in Authors' Week of 1934.[136]

Often overlooked, the editors of children's pages in newspapers and magazines also contributed to the development of New Zealand's literary culture. There are many examples of authors crediting their early development to the encouragement given to them by one of these individuals. Bill Pearson began writing for Aunt Hilda's children's page in the Christchurch *Star-Sun* in 1935 at the age of 13. Hilda's "Starlets", of whom Pearson was one, accumulated marks towards certificates for good work.[137] Gloria Rawlinson's early poems appeared on the children's pages of

---

[133] "The Editor and His Contributors", *The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, Jan 1903, p. 260.
[134] Hyde to Schroder, 16 May 1928, in Challis and Rawlinson, p. 109.
[135] Valerie Laura, ''Bethell, Mary Ursula 1874 – 1945", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).
[136] Hilliard (2006), p. 25.
[137] Paul Millar, *No Fretful Sleeper*: *A Life of Bill Pearson* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), p. 41.

the *New Zealand Herald*, which were edited by Elsie K. Morton. Known as a child prodigy, she then received further encouragement from Winifred Tennant of the Auckland *Sun*.[138] Noel Hoggard recalled his early literary endeavours in the Children's Section of the *Hutt News* where he was given "a couple of columns each week". He also met Alison Grant, editor of the Children's Page of the *Evening Post* and had "fond memories of [her] bright little room on the second floor". He said: "In those days the old 'Otago Witness' and the 'Weekly Press' (both now defunct) were publishing interesting and helpful criticism pages for the benefit of budding authors".[139]

The contribution of newspapers to local writing was not acknowledged because they fell out of favour as time went on. Later writers were not so interested in this kind of exposure. Derek Challis mentions the dominance of newspapers in the 1920s, and then their subsequent decline, described by Robin Hyde as a "tragedy for New Zealand scribes".[140] This aligns with the changing nature of book production for New Zealanders, as the more highbrow intentions of the Caxton Press and its like were at odds with the democratic nature of newspaper publication, which thrived on creating a general audience.[141] Thus, the significance of newspapers has been obscured to some extent.

Another reason the significance of local literary machinery has not been well acknowledged is to do with the absolute nature of the control the bookmen had. In a small, sparsely populated country like New Zealand this meant that the literary tastes of a few men determined the kind of writing that could be published within the country. As a result, these editors had a large amount of control over what was

---

[138] Riemke Ensing, "Rawlinson, Gloria Jasmine 1918 – 1995", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).
[139] Noel Hoggard, *The Inky Way: an Essay into Autobiography* (Wellington: Handcraft Press, 1940), pp. 12-3.
[140] Hyde, p. 91.
[141] Challis and Rawlinson, p. 153.

written. Denis Glover was to say in 1935 that New Zealand literature was "to a great extent under the patronage of our daily papers".[142] He described this journalistic-based process as a "literary mincing machine".[143] The bookmen were accused by later generations as having a strangle-hold over literary production in New Zealand, and subsequently stunting its development.

This group of individuals, largely members of a generation older than the cultural nationalists, propagated the literary ideals of the time. As editors and literary commentators they expressed a dislike for "modern" techniques, including free verse. They tended to prefer well-established styles within the British tradition, such as Georgian-inspired verse, and were suspicious of modernism. Their thoughts about literature were shaped by the influence of such standards of literary taste as Palgrave's anthology *The Golden Treasury*, and others like it. According to Hilliard, "the more immediate models for much New Zealand poetry in the 1920s and 1930s were Rupert Brooke, Walter de la Mare, and other British poets featured in Edward Marsh's *Georgian Poetry* anthologies between 1912 and 1922".[144] Georgianism was a "reaction to the lifeless, vitiated condition of English poetry at the beginning of the twentieth century".[145] F. W. Neilsen Wright quotes Lord Alfred Douglas, a Georgian poet, as saying that poets wish to "strike beautiful notes, not new notes",[146] a sentiment Alan Mulgan and Charles Marris would no doubt have agreed with.

---

[142] Denis Glover, "Pointers to Parnassus: A Consideration of the Morepork and the Muse," *Tomorrow* 2 (1935).
[143] Glover (1935).
[144] Hilliard (2006), p. 47.
[145] Anne French, "Georgians and New Zealand Georgians: a Study of Eileen Duggan and R. A. K. Mason, and New Zealand Poetry of the Twenties and Thirties in the Context of Georgian Poetry in England" , MA Thesis (Victoria University, 1979), p. 2.
[146] F. W. Neilsen Wright, *Theories of Style in the Schroder-Marris School of Poets in Aotearoa: an Essay in Formal Stylistics With Particular Reference to the Poets Eileen Duggan, Robin Hyde and Ruth Gilbert* (Wellington: Political and Cultural Booklets, 2001), p. 6.

Georgianism, in the eyes of contemporaries, did not negate the possibility of writing "local" literature. A review of Jessie Mackay's poetry in a 1909 *Dominion* article predicted that:

> In the New Zealand poetry of the future we shall expect to hear the song of the sea, the wind's sweep over plains of manuka and tussock, the sound of rivers ramping over stony courses, and to feel a zest and beauty and sense of freedom that are akin to these. … Miss Jessie Mackay in a new selection all too small, lifts a lyric note as sweet as it is rare.[147]

This type of writing fulfilled both the Georgian ideal of beauty and the need for indigeneity. Similarly, Eileen Duggan was a writer who effortlessly combined the wider literary conventions of the colonial writing world with New Zealand content. Her *New Zealand Bird Songs* was praised widely for its simple lyrical eloquence and local themes.

It was quite possible to develop ideas of "colonial difference" using traditional forms and conventions, and many writers attempted this. Novelists often played a hand in the creation and perseverance of colonial stereotypes such as that of the rugged, pioneering "outdoors man". Edith Searle Grossmann's *The Heart of the Bush* exhibits the literary apotheosis of these ideals and probably had a hand in propagating them as well. The story is about Adelaide, and ultimately her choice between fashionable England and honest New Zealand. The greatest contrast in the book is between the English suitor, Horace, and Dennis, the rough but honest New Zealander. Horace is the height of "civilised" fashion: a member of the "Smart Set". He "liked even to have his emotions prepared for him by unleisured authors and composers".[148] Showing genuine emotion is dismissed as being "early Victorian", as when Adelaide nearly faints.[149] The outlook that Grossmann is expressing through her work, such as

[147] "Books and Authors", *Dominion*, Jan 23 1909.
[148] Grossmann (1910), p. 15.
[149] Grossmann (1910), p. 66.

"the dangers of cosmopolitan sophistication versus the honest worth of rural folk" was not, according to Stafford and Williams, "exclusive to Grossmann's writing", but rather "part of the cultural climate in which she wrote".[150] Colonial character was not just the concern of the cultural nationalists or the 1930s.

The contribution of this generation of writers and their editors has often been ignored or played down because it was uncongenial to the next generation of writers, who were interested only in a particular sort of writing, leading to the idea that nothing much was going on at this time. Members of the "Phoenix" group mocked their predecessors and belittled them. "The gentlemen whose sacred mission it is to direct literary standards in N.Z.", wrote R. A. K. Mason, "are for the most part old men (or youths prematurely old) who have never even studied literature deeply".[151] The older generation were accused of having "imposed on New Zealand writing a worship of the safely dead past and a fear of anything modern", as they led the country down the "daisied path of pallid good taste" with their preferences for "leisurely-whimsy, feminine-mimsy" old-fashioned writing.[152]

Viewed retrospectively, it is easy to see this older generation as old-fashioned while in actual fact they were merely reflecting the preoccupations of the time they lived in. The writers they patronised were largely complicit in this. The older generation of editors' dislike of free verse, for example, was shared by many writers: Jessie Mackay described it as "treason against eternal poesy".[153] Eileen Duggan said of Mackay that "she has always stood in this country for the high tradition, the grand manner, and has rejoiced that free verse has not caught New Zealand's heart",[154] and agreed with these sentiments herself. She wrote in the poem "Shades of Maro of

---

[150] Stafford and Williams, p. 193.
[151] R. A. K. Mason, "Why We Can't Write For Nuts", MS 1134/1, *HL*, in Barrowman, p. 94.
[152] Glover (1981), p. 94.
[153] Jessie Mackay, "Concerning New Zealand Letters", *Art in New Zealand*, March 1929, p.163.
[154] Eileen Duggan, article on Jessie Mackay, 77-067-3/6, *ATL*.

Toulouse": "Where are the words that broke the heart with beauty? / This is the age of the merely clever".[155] Alice A. Kenny reacted unenthusiastically when Ezra Pound showed an interest in her work, choosing instead to side with the editors of the *Triad*, who despised Pound and modernism.[156] The newer generation were not as revolutionary as they seemed as they merely adhered to slightly more modern, imported poetic conventions.

As it was, the bookmen played a vital role as local agents for the colonial writing world and helped encourage much literary activity. While their role may have been presented as somewhat trivial by their detractors, this is only in a local context. New Zealand could never have functioned as part of the colonial writing world if it had not been for the ground-level literary encouragement that is described in this chapter, in the form of facilitating publication in newspapers and magazines, introducing writers to each other, or setting up organisations. These men often occupied multiple "literary" positions, which was necessary because of the disorganised nature of the literary infrastructure at this time.[157] The preoccupation New Zealand literary history has had with identifying "authentic" New Zealand writing, or the "great New Zealand novel" has blinded commentators to the reality of the literary industry before World War II. It has prevented scholars from seeing New Zealand in its true position as a piece of the colonial writing world, with its literary agents working as part of a much bigger picture than the limitations of nationalist histories can possibly allow for. It was not a "black hole" for New Zealand writing as McCormick would have had us believe when he wrote of the literary movement of the 1890s "petering out" and not being revived again until the 1930s.[158]

---

[155] Eileen Duggan, 'Shades of Maro of Toulouse', *More Poems* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1951), p.17.
[156] Wild, p. 17.
[157] e.g. Scholefield and Andersen. Hilliard (2006), p. 20.
[158] McCormick, p. 125, and Marshall, p. 12.

Chapter Two – Looking Outward

2.1 The Tasman Writing World

The very useful avenues of publication in New Zealand were complemented by further opportunities across the Tasman. One of the most influential publications for early twentieth-century New Zealand writers was located in Australia. The Sydney *Bulletin*, whose literary "Red Page" was long edited by A. G. Stephens, was very much an Australian publication, but published a great deal of New Zealand material. Jock Phillips has calculated that 10 percent of the total content of this magazine was written by New Zealanders.[1] Theresia Marshall calculates that in the twelve years (1894-1906) A. G. Stephens was literary editor of the Red Page "the number of New Zealand entries increased six-fold, producing a total of 818 altogether, averaging close to 100 per year from 1900 onwards. No New Zealand journal during this period … remotely approached the *Bulletin* as a venue hospitable to New Zealand writing".[2] Many New Zealand authors used the *Bulletin* as a "testing ground", including Edith Lyttleton who described it as her "literary father".[3]

However, just as a preoccupation with authenticity has masked the important opportunities available within the New Zealand writing world, the search for national identity has served to obscure the reality of New Zealand's literary relationships with other countries, including its most immediate neighbour. Philippa Mein Smith suggests that the insistence on pursuing the "search for unique national stories and

---

[1] Jock Phillips, "Musings in Maoriland - or Was There a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand?", *Historical Studies*, 20:81 (1983), p. 522.
[2] Theresia Marshall, "New Zealand Literature in the Sydney *Bulletin*", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995), p. 13.
[3] Edith Lyttleton to Frederick de la Mare, 24 Aug 1934, in Frederick de la Mare, *G. B. Lancaster 1873-1945: A Tribute* (Hamilton: Waikato Times, 1945), p. 14.

identities" serves only to "obscure the persistence of the Tasman world".[4] Some important writers of the early twentieth century, like Douglas Stewart, Will Lawson and David McKee Wright, have been all but dismissed from the literary canon because they left New Zealand to spend time in Australia, and as a result their national allegiances have been called into question. Pat Lawlor complained in a survey from 1962 that "there is a small but distinctive group of expatriates in Australia" but "we hear nothing of their work".[5] Writers who stayed in New Zealand but published overseas risked not being included as well.

The cultural nationalists resisted acknowledging the links between the two countries, and thus did their bit to obscure them. Hilliard has talked at length about this, describing the way Eric McCormick

> edited out the Australasian dimension of the New Zealand scene. [Joseph] Heenan apparently pointed out that *Letters and Art* said nothing about the *Bulletin*'s contribution to New Zealand writing. McCormick said, probably half-heartedly, that he would read up on it, 'but I am not in sympathy with the *Bulletin*'s jargon—Maoriland, etc—or its desperate aiming at brightness, often at the expense of truth'.[6]

Curnow, also, was inclined to ignore the literary relationship between New Zealand and Australia. He refused the opportunity to appear in an Australasian anthology that was to be published by Oxford University Press because he objected to the idea of "trading our birthright for an Australasian mess with a famous imprint on the side".[7] When the title was changed from "Australasian Verse" to "Australian and New Zealand Verse" Denis Glover wrote to Alan Mulgan, who was editing the New Zealand section, and said "I certainly agreed with Curnow that the anthology had

---

[4] Peter Hempenstall, Philippa Mein Smith and Shaun Goldfinch, *Remaking the Tasman World* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2008), p. 31.
[5] Pat Lawlor, Draft of "New Zealand Writing: A Survey", c1962, Lawlor papers, 77-067 7/2, *Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL)*, Wellington.
[6] McCormick to Heenan, 2 October 1940, Heenan papers, MS Papers 1132-134, *ATL*, in Chris Hillard, *The Bookmen's Dominion* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006), p. 102.
[7] Curnow to Alan Mulgan, 10 Feb 1948, Mulgan papers, MS Papers 244-15, *ATL*, in Hilliard (2006), p. 103.

undesirable features … to a certain extent these are removed by the change of title".[8] The younger poets, like Rex Fairburn, often had a "blind spot on Australian writing"[9] and were frequently unaware of the close literary links the two countries had had for so long, as well as the debt owed to their Australian nationalist predecessors. This continued, as Pat Lawlor observed in 1966 when he said that the general literary knowledge of the university men and women dealing with New Zealand literature was "painfully restricted. They know little of N.Z. literature beyond the Sargeson-Curnow clique. They know little of writers like [Hector Bolitho] or even of Douglas Stewart in Australia who have won celebrity".[10]

In actual fact, during most of this time New Zealand had a mutually beneficial relationship with Australia that complemented what was available within the local literary culture. New Zealanders had access to higher-level literary institutions (for example, the publishing company Angus & Robertson) that they lacked at home, and the benefits of a larger audience and fellowship of writers through the Tasman writing world (the most immediate part of the colonial writing world). They could take advantage of this without leaving the country, as those who published in the *Bulletin* did. Marshall concludes that New Zealand's literary culture at this time had much more "vigour and variety" than is usually acknowledged, and that "the *Bulletin* contributed substantially to this vigour and variety".[11] There was a great deal more material submitted than was printed, indicated by the lengthy list of notes on contributors, including often acerbic comments from the editor, such as: "Ben S.: It

[8] Glover to Mulgan, 20 July 1948, MS Papers 0224-15, *ATL*.
[9] In 1930 Duggan wrote to Nettie Palmer, saying that Fairburn "used to have a blind spot on Australian literature but I see he was in the Christmas *Bulletin*". Duggan to Palmer, Duggan papers, 1930, MS Papers 801 2/3, *ATL*.
[10] Pat Lawlor to Hector Bolitho, 9 May 1966, 77-067 1/5, *ATL*.
[11] Marshall, p. 12.

creaks like a cattle truck… G. A. H.: Your effort is not worth the blow it strikes at the national ink supply".[12]

New Zealanders also submitted work to Australian newspapers, A.G. Stephens' *Bookfellow*, the *Australian Journal* and *Aussie* magazine. A New Zealand version of *Aussie* was edited and distributed by Pat Lawlor from 1925. The *Australasian* published New Zealand writing, including pieces by Edith Lyttleton, as did the *Lone Hand*. Some of Katherine Mansfield's earliest stories were published in the *Native Companion* of Melbourne.

Some Australian periodicals were produced with the intention of dealing with New Zealand and Australia together. They were circulated in both countries, and became an extension of the literary journals available that dealt with New Zealand literature. The *Bookfellow* was an example of this. It was pretty much the product of a single-handed effort by A. G. Stephens, but the attempt eventually "ruined him financially and broke his spirit".[13] Nonetheless, it contained plenty of New Zealand material and interest. There is, for example, a lengthy article on Hubert Church in the March 1912 issue, and Stephens does not try to claim him as an Australian writer. New Zealand authors were by no means limited to a New Zealand audience or New Zealand literary outlets.

Because Australia had a more highly developed publishing industry, it was easier to get books published there as well. Thomas C. Lothian of Melbourne (a company formed in 1912) published the works of Jessie Mackay and Hubert Church, among others. Angus & Robertson began publishing in Sydney in 1887 and was particularly significant in Australian publishing history. It added to its list several New Zealand authors, including Edith Lyttleton and Arthur H. Adams. In 1933 the

[12] "Answers to Correspondents", *The Bulletin*, 27 Apr 1922, p. 44.
[13] Stuart Lee, "Stephens, Alfred George (1865 - 1933)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A120081b.htm (1990).

Sydney *Bulletin* set up the Endeavour Press, for which Pat Lawlor acted as a New Zealand agent. The New South Wales Bookstall Company and the New Century Press in Sydney also published New Zealand writers.

The close links between Australia and New Zealand in this period mean that a trans-Tasman model is a necessary part of any assessment of literary culture in New Zealand. This relates to the main argument of Peter Hempenstall, Philippa Mein Smith and Shaun Goldfinch's *Remaking the Tasman World* in which the authors argue against the idea that Australia and New Zealand had entirely separate histories after Australian federation in 1901. They suggest instead the existence of continuing "communities of interest that traverse the Tasman".[14] For example, Australia and New Zealand were a single banking community until the formation of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand in 1933.[15] Interestingly, Mein Smith makes a case for the two countries having a separate *literary* culture, quoting a Lydia Wevers article from 2001 that describes New Zealand and Australia as having a "resistant relationship over books and readers",[16] meaning there was very little interest in the literature the other country was producing. This is, however, in reference to more recent history, and by no means contradicts the theory of the interdependent relationship that the New Zealand and Australian literary industries had in the early twentieth century. If New Zealanders and Australians tend to ignore each other's books nowadays it is most likely the result of the subsequent triumph of their respective cultural nationalisms.

The most compelling evidence for the existence of a trans-Tasman literary world is that in the early twentieth century people saw *themselves* as part of wider

[14] Hempenstall, Mein Smith and Goldfinch, p. 19.
[15] G. R. Hawke, *The Making of New Zealand: An Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 151.
[16] Lydia Wevers, "Books: Are New Zealand and Australia Part of the Same Literary Community?", Bruce Brown (ed.), *New Zealand and Australia: Where Are We Going?* (Wellington, 2001), p. 80, in Hempenstall, Mein Smith and Goldfinch, p. 40.

literary networks, the most immediate focus of these being Australia. Chris Hilliard describes the trans-Tasman outlook of authors. Jessie Mackay, he says, saw herself as part of an Australasian culture, "like [Pat] Lawlor and many other figures".[17] Nettie Palmer, critic and wife of the aggressively nationalist Australian writer Vance Palmer, saw Mackay as being part of the Australian literary scene as well as her native one, describing her as an "Austrazealander".[18] The Palmers regularly reviewed and praised New Zealand writing in the *Bulletin*. *All About Books*, based in Melbourne, "was subtitled 'For Australian and New Zealand Readers', and reported on the doings of the New Zealand Penwomen as well as the Fellowship of Australian Writers".[19]

In the early twentieth century, New Zealand and Australia were seen as one market by publishers both in Australasia and in Britain. Graeme Johanson notes that British publishers had little interest in differentiating between the two countries. He says that the "large quantity of British books which were re-exported from Australia to New Zealand may explain some of the confusion, [but] there is also much evidence suggesting that British publishers were ignorant of a number of vital aspects of the Australian market". The words "Australia" and "Australasia" were used "without differentiation".[20] Australian publishing companies, however, were not at all confused when they saw New Zealand as an extension of their market. Booksellers in New Zealand sometimes worked via an Australian colleague, who would import books and then send them on. Thus within the colonial writing world, cities like Sydney and Melbourne acted as loci for the Tasman world. Imported books, like colonial editions,

[17] Mackay to Lawlor, 1 April 1937, 77-067-3/6, *ATL*, quoted in Hilliard (2006), p. 7.
[18] Nettie Palmer, "Jessie Mackay", undated [c. 1930] clipping from the Red Page of the *Bulletin*, Lawlor papers, 77-067-3/6, *ATL*, in Hilliard (2006), p. 9.
[19] Hilliard (2006), p. 35, from a cutting amongst Lawlor's papers in the *Alexander Turnbull Library*.
[20] Graeme Johanson, *Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843-1972* (Wellington, Elibank Press, 2000), p. 5.

usually came to New Zealand via Melbourne.[21] Local New Zealand publishing firms treated Australia as their home ground. As locally produced textbooks "tailored to the local syllabus" gradually overtook British imports, Whitcombe & Tombs saw Australia as simply an extension of their New Zealand market. Their Pacific Readers (printed in 1912 mainly for New Zealand schools) utilised Australian and New Zealand material, since a "trans-Tasman" role gave the company a bigger pool of authors on whom to draw.[22]

Australia could offer more freedom than New Zealand in terms of literary content. The stories Katherine Mansfield had published in Melbourne were most likely published there and not in New Zealand by necessity, as they were "sexually risqué" compared with anything permitted in New Zealand at this time.[23] Australia was perhaps still more restrictive than Britain, however. Andrew Nash writes:

> British censorship was certainly excessive in this period, though not, perhaps, as excessive as in Australia where both *The Colonel's Daughter* (Aldington 1929) and Huxley's *Brave New World* were banned by the government, and copies seized and returned by the customs authorities.[24]

Communications within the Australasian literary community were conducted by post. In section 1.2 we saw that a dispersed population was not an insurmountable obstacle to the formation of literary networks. In the same way, as New Zealand literary networks were often by necessity letter-based, they could naturally extend to include Australian writers, and did so. Someone in Christchurch could just as easily

---

[21] Hillard (2006), p. 33.
[22] Hugh Price, "Educational Publishing", in Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey, Keith Maslen (eds.), *Book and Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997).
[23] Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), p. 147.
[24] Andrew Nash, "Literary Culture and Literary Publishing in Inter-War Britain: A View from Chatto & Windus", in Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison (eds.), *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: British Library, 2007), p. 331.

correspond with someone in Sydney as someone in Wellington.[25] Links were established through contacts or when writers initiated a correspondence after seeing a piece they admired in a publication. Some amiable and mutually beneficial relationships were struck up across the Tasman, evolving from initial polite enquiry to informality. One of Eileen Duggan's literary mentors was Nettie Palmer in Australia. Her relationship with Palmer began when Palmer wrote to Duggan after seeing her "name in the book-lists".[26] She mentioned to Palmer at one point that she had to ask Jessie Mackay who A. G. Stephens was, he being the influential editor of the *Bulletin*'s "Red Page" who had criticised her for not writing "by ear". She said: "She was shocked! Is he a great nob on your side?"[27] In later letters Duggan familiarly referred to him as "old A.G.S",[28] as he was well-known to most New Zealand literary types. She told Palmer in 1927: "it's been part of God's goodness that you and she [Mackay] were my first mentors".[29] She went from using the name "Mrs Palmer" to "Nettie", having obviously been instructed to do so by Palmer, and said she was "Only too pleased for that is what I think of you as".[30] These relationships often led to face-to-face meetings, although in this case Duggan said she would like to meet Palmer but was not a good traveller.[31] Literary friendships were not confined by geographical borders but conducted along well-established colonial and trans-Tasman lines of communication.

There was a constant flow of people, as well as letters and literary works, between New Zealand and Australia. A lot of New Zealanders headed over to try their

---

[25] In the 1870s mail took 5.5 days to reach Auckland from Sydney. Howard Robinson, *A History of the Post Office in New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1964), p. 130.
[26] In a letter to Palmer from 1924 Duggan apologises for not replying to her sooner but she had been dealing with the death of her sister. She confesses to not knowing much about Australian literature but says she has "seen [Palmer's] name in the book-lists". 1924, MS Papers 801 2/2, *ATL*.
[27] Duggan to Nettie Palmer, 1924, MS Papers 801 2/2, *ATL*.
[28] Duggan to Palmer, 1930, MS Papers 801 2/3, *ATL*.
[29] Duggan to Palmer, 1927, MS Papers 801 2/2, A*TL*.
[30] Ibid., 1928.
[31] Ibid., 1926.

luck as journalists in the more varied and competitive environment that Sydney had to offer. They included David McKee Wright, who made the journey in 1910, and Douglas Stewart, Will Lawson and Pat Lawlor. Some New Zealanders went in pursuit of the enhanced freedom Australian cities were rumoured to offer. The poet Dulcie Deamer, later dubbed the "Queen" of Sydney's bohemian circles, was a New Zealander who made this transition across the Tasman after getting married at the age of 17. Jean Devanny was a committed communist, but found she could not find the political and intellectual company she craved until she went to Australia.[32] Her novel *The Butcher Shop* had recently been banned in New Zealand, but this was probably not the principal reason for departure because according to the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* she moved for family health reasons. Moreover, *The Butcher Shop* was soon banned in Australia as well[33] and she disliked the frivolity of the bohemian Sydney scene.[34] Hector Bolitho moved to Sydney and later said that "Sydney gave me the challenge, and friends with talent, that I had lacked in New Zealand".[35] It was the enhanced social freedom and the greater variety of opportunities that a larger population could offer that induced writers like Bolitho to go to Australia.

The bohemian circles of Sydney and London were not necessarily accessible to everyone, even if they did go there. Members of society in Sydney formed clubs such as The Casuals and the Dawn and Dusk Club, but these organisations "excluded women either deliberately or by meeting in places like bars, that were hard for women to enter".[36] Women were included only if they used their sexuality, according to

---

[32] Jean Devanny, *Point of Departure* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1986).
[33] Heather Roberts, "Devanny, Jean 1894 – 1962", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)*, http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/ (updated 22 June 2007).
[34] Devanny (1986).
[35] Hector Bolitho, *My Restless Years* (London: Parrish, 1962), p. 79.
[36] Drusilla Modjeska, *Exiles at Home: Australian Women Writers 1925-1945* (London: Sirius Books, 1981), p. 16.

Drusilla Modjeska. Sydney-based Nettie Palmer conducted her literary business almost entirely through letters.

The fact that large numbers of people headed across the Tasman has all too often been seen solely as a negative event, as if New Zealand were being rejected in favour of a superior destination. The idea of a "brain drain" originates from the general consensus that people of talent have throughout the years been forced to leave New Zealand. Though the exchange of people and ideas with Australia is completely natural and inevitable, it has traditionally been viewed in a bad light, with the term "expatriate" implying a permanent loss of talent overseas.

It is much more accurate to envisage the process as a constant backwards and forwards flow. Peter Hempenstall invokes Rollo Arnold's model of a "'Perennial Interchange' of people and ideas" to portray this, with the relationship between Australia and New Zealand involving an interchange of "bankers, businessmen, miners, axemen, shearers, clergy and journalists".[37] This phenomenon has had many positive outcomes, such as the exchange of ideas across the Tasman. Moreover, a 2001 working paper from the New Zealand Treasury takes issue with that the idea that New Zealand suffers from a "brain drain", and concludes that it is more of a "brain exchange". From an analysis of the demographics of migrants, it is shown that with the wider world New Zealand has a net inflow of people, and these are usually highly-skilled. With Australia, New Zealand has a net outflow, but this group is fairly representative of the general population: the paper calls it a "same drain".[38] Finally, not all, or even most, of the writers who left New Zealand for Australia made it a permanent move. Of the 19 New Zealand writers in my database who went to

---

[37] Rollo Arnold, "The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration 1885 – 1910" *Australian Economic History Review* 26:1 (1986), pp 1-2, in Hempenstall, Mein Smith and Goldfinch, p. 144.
[38] Hayden Glass and Wai Kin Choy, "Brain Drain or Brain Exchange?", *Treasury Working Paper 01/22*, http://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/research-policy/wp/2001/01-22/twp01-22.pdf (2001).

Australia between 1890 and 1945, eight returned to New Zealand and two continued on to the United Kingdom.

The New Zealand literary scene benefited from the movement of people backwards and forwards across the Tasman and from the ideas brought back by Australasian itinerants. For example, when Pat Lawlor decided to create New Zealand Authors' Week in 1936 he was inspired by an Australian precedent: he had just attended the Australian Authors' Week organised by Will Lawson.[39] Returning or expatriate New Zealand literary men had contacts on both sides of the Tasman as a result of the movement to-and-fro of journalistic staff. Lawlor had worked on the *Daily Telegraph* in Sydney in the 1920s, and worked hard to maintain his contacts and put New Zealand writers in touch with Australian publishers.[40] He was also the New Zealand agent for *Aussie* magazine, the *Bulletin* and the *Australian Women's Mirror*.

Because of the extensive amount of movement between the two countries at this time it is often difficult to differentiate between "New Zealand writers" and "Australian writers". Hubert Church, for example, is usually referred to as a New Zealand poet. His brand of Georgian inspired poetry, though largely dismissed by later critics (Evans calls him the "worst poet of the period, although the title was keenly contested"[41]) typified the verse commonly written by New Zealanders at this time. However, Church was in fact an Australian expatriate, born in Hobart in 1857, educated in England and only arriving in New Zealand in 1873. Another writer, Eve Langley, was Australian born and wrote her most successful novel, *The Pea-Pickers*, about Australia; but she lived in New Zealand, only returning to Australia when she was 53. Edith Lyttleton is touted as New Zealand's most successful author of the

[39] Hilliard (2006), p. 4.
[40] Hilliard (2006), p. 35.
[41] Patrick Evans, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Literature* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), p. 44.

period, yet she was born in Australia and a significant number of her famous novels were written about Australia, including *Pageant*, set in Tasmania. Her books are often referred to as "Dominion" novels, as they are set in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. In a way, that is symptomatic of her extensive participation in the life of the colonial writing world. The "trans-Tasman writer and journalist"[42] Will Lawson was described by Pat Lawlor as "the restless poet of Australasia. If he is not leaving or joining the staff of a newspaper, he is embarking or disembarking, on or from, the Sydney boat. In fact, he moves so quickly from one place to another that I have heard him credited with the supernatural gift of omnipresence".[43] This sort of transient existence was by no means uncommon within Australasian circles.

The most famous example of an Australian writer relocating to New Zealand is of course Henry Lawson, who gained a teaching appointment at Mangamaunu School near Kaikoura. He went to live there in 1897 with his wife Bertha. He made the move because of a shortage of government posts in Australia, and possibly because of the manipulations of Bertha who desired to find him a position away from the lure of public houses.[44] The couple intended to settle in New Zealand, but the attempt failed because they found it hard to cope with the isolation and had difficulties fitting in with the community.[45]

Rather than spending time and energy trying to differentiate between New Zealand and Australian authors, it is far better to accept trans-Tasman perspectives and ways of life as the reality for many people. Indeed, it is futile and anachronistic to insist upon clear distinctions between Australian and New Zealand writers based upon later, more rigid conceptions of nationality. Letting nationalism dictate literary history

---

[42] Hilliard (2006), p. 25.
[43] Pat Lawlor, *Confessions of a Journalist* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1935), p. 221.
[44] Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson* (Frank Johnson: Sydney, 1943), p. 57, in Bill Pearson, *Henry Lawson Among Maoris* (Wellington: Reed, 1968), p. 82.
[45] Pearson, p. 107.

is to be blinded to the reality that writers' lives were not yet organised around the nation-state, but structured by a series of networks—global, colonial, and trans-Tasman. At this point New Zealand, Australian, colonial, imperial and British identities co-existed and overlapped. As James Belich has said: "New Zealandness, Australasianism—and Britishness—were not mutually exclusive".[46] Nationalism does not account for the fact that all writers are unique amalgams of their varied and often transnational cultural and social influences. Concentrating on the writers' nationality makes it impossible to create an accurate picture of their context and the way in which they created literature in the early twentieth century. To do this, we must acknowledge the role not only of the writers' New Zealand context, but of the wider Tasman and colonial writing worlds.

2.2 The Colonial Writing World

The Tasman writing world existed as a part of a much greater arena of cultural interaction: the colonial writing world. The most important aspect of participation in the colonial writing world for New Zealand writers was that it allowed them access to the well-developed publishing infrastructure that London had to offer. New Zealand writers took advantage of this in large numbers, and were often reliant on London publishers to publish their novels and sometimes their books of verse, at least up until the middle of the twentieth century. London remained the indisputable centre of literary production, boasting most of the world's major publishing houses. Many of the most significant literary works written by New Zealanders during this time were published in London, including Eileen Duggan's poetry collections, Robin Hyde's

[46] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), p. 51.

novels and Edith Lyttleton's *Pageant*. Between 1890 and 1935, 492 books written by New Zealand authors were published, and 241 of those (49 per cent) were published in the United Kingdom (see Table 2.1).[47] 43 per cent were published in New Zealand.

Table 2.1 - Books by New Zealand authors 1890-1935

Place of publication	Novels	Poetry	Short fiction	Total
New Zealand	24	173	15	212
United Kingdom	157	65	19	241
Australia	10	16	2	28
United States	8	1	0	9
Other	0	1	1	2
Total	199	256	37	492

New Zealand publishers put out most of the poetry, but British publishers were responsible for over half the short fiction and fully 79 per cent of the novels. The contribution of British publishers to the development of the New Zealand novel was substantial, and the availability of British publishers was very significant for New Zealand literature.

Table 2.2 - Books by New Zealand authors 1890-1945

Place of publication	Novels	Poetry	Short fiction	Total
New Zealand	46	264	35	345
United Kingdom	219	73	20	312
Australia	20	22	4	46
United States	11	2	0	13
Other	0	1	1	2
Total	296	362	60	718

If the period is extended to 1945 (see Table 2.2) the percentage of books published in the United Kingdom is slightly lower at 43 per cent, due to the increasing

[47] See Appendix A for a full list of publications. These figures exclude the work of Fergus Hume.

presence of local publishing infrastructure from the mid-1930s.[48] This is somewhat underestimating the role of British publishers, for the books published there were usually longer, with bigger print runs and wider circulation. Many of the books published in New Zealand were small print runs of books of verse. Moreover, because it is the books' presence in New Zealand libraries that determines their inclusion, New Zealand-published material is overrepresented as some books published in the United Kingdom did not make it into major New Zealand libraries.

Table 2.2 shows that between 1890 and 1945 74 per cent of novels were *still* published in Britain, despite the rapid development of New Zealand publishing facilities between 1936 and 1945. For novels, the United Kingdom remained by far the most common place of publication.

Many important New Zealand and Australian books simply would not have appeared were it not for the accessibility of London publishers, but the prevalence of a nationalist mindset has meant that the reliance on overseas publishing has often been seen as wholly negative. Australian nationalists in the first few decades of the twentieth century bemoaned the damage done to Australian writing by the need for overseas publishing, and the resulting forced deference to British tastes. The British publishers' idea of what the British public would be interested in had the potential, in the minds of the nationalists, to undermine the "authentic Australianness" of the writing. Nationalist loyalties dictated a preference for Australian publishers, as when the novelist Joseph Furphy declared in 1897: "Heaven forbid I should think of treating

[48] Australia was in a similar situation at the very beginning of the twentieth century, though there was a small publishing industry already established there, but there are no similar figures easily available for Australia.

with an English publisher".[49] Henry Lawson's sardonic "A Song of Southern Writers" from 1892 calls on Australians to

> Write a story of the South, make it true and make it clear,
> Put your soul in every sentence, have the volume published here,
> And 'twill only be accepted by our critics in the mist,
> As a 'worthy imitation' of a Northern novelist.
> For the volume needs the mighty Paternoster Row machine,
> With a patronising notice in an English magazine.[50]

Lawson's negativity about the inconvenient need to be patronised by English critics and the effect of having to answer to foreign standards reflected the feelings of the other Australian nationalists, such as Vance Palmer, the "self-conscious heir to *Bulletin* nationalism",[51] and his wife, Nettie. Their opinion, and that of a few others, has been made to stand for the general consensus. As a result, says John Barnes, "in the absence of detailed publishing histories of the relationship between Australian writers and English publishers, the model of Australian creativity and originality unappreciated by London publishers has been generally accepted". [52]

Literary nationalists, although often singled out for attention by later historians, were a small minority of the Australian literary community at this time and were therefore unlikely to be representative of the wider literary community's attitudes towards publication in Britain. The majority of writers were probably quite happy with the situation, as publishing in Britain was a natural and accepted result of membership of the colonial writing world. While some were interested in the balladry, vernacular and values that would come to define early "authentic" Australian writing,

---

[49] Furphy to Stephens, 30 May 1897, in John Barnes, *The Writer in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 121.
[50] Henry Lawson, *A Song of Southern Writers*, 1892, in Martyn Lyons and John Arnold, *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945: A National Culture in a Colonised Market* (St Lucia, Qsld: University of Queensland Press, 2001), p. 25.
[51] Dirk den Hartog, "Australian Male Writers", in Samuel Louis Goldberg and Francis Barrymore Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 231.
[52] John Barnes, "'Heaven forbid that I should think of treating with an English publisher': The Dilemma of Literary Nationalists in Federated Australia", Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison (eds.) *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: The British Library, 2007), p. 409.

other well-known writers, like the poet Christopher Brennan, continued to write in traditional styles. This was true even of those who wrote for the supposedly nationalist *Bulletin* which, "Although it did pride itself on its bush balladry, ... published considerably *more* genteel verse by Australians—Victor Daley, Roderic Quinn and a host of others—than it did 'rabid' bush ballads".[53] Moreover, many of the *Bulletin*'s leading figures (and nationalists) were in fact themselves British immigrants for whom nationalism and doubts about links to the British Crown were logical extensions of the republicanism that flourished amongst working class radicals in Britain in the 1870s.[54]

Later literary historians, from an age in which nationalism was more prevalent, searched for distinctively Australian material to include in their literary histories, and the talent of Lawson, A. B. Paterson and a few others demanded their inclusion. Those historians also accepted the nationalists' fulminations against British publishers. John Barnes, however, concludes his chapter by saying that his research suggests that the idea that Australian creativity and originality were unappreciated by London publishers "at the very least … needs to be questioned".[55] Like New Zealanders, Australians were proud of the things that made them distinct, but most were still largely untroubled by the notion that they were also part of the British Empire. Nationalism for many, Barnes says, still "defined itself in the context of imperialism".[56] As in New Zealand literary historiography, the Australian version has suffered at the hands of the nationalists. The commonplace occurrence of an Australian writer getting a book published in England was presented in a negative light and only its effect on distinctly "Australian" writing was emphasised. In New

[53] Marshall, p. 43.
[54] C. N. Connolly, "Class, Birthplace, Loyalty: Australian Attitudes to the Boer War", *Historical Studies*, 18:11 (1978), p. 230.
[55] John Barnes, p. 409.
[56] John Barnes, p. 399.

Zealand, the literary nationalists of the 1930s and 1940s had a similar dislike of the reliance on British publishers. Local publishing was assumed to be intrinsically superior, which not only advanced the cause of cultural nationalism but served the interests of writers like Denis Glover who were associated with the local presses.

The assumption of the intrinsic superiority of New Zealand publishing has allowed anomalies to creep in to New Zealand literary history. Surveys of the state of New Zealand literature at this time generally ignore the many books published overseas, or include them only because they were belatedly taken up by a local publisher after initial publication overseas. For example, *The Story of a New Zealand River* was published in New York and London in 1920, but not in New Zealand until 1938. Edith Searle Grossmann's *The Heart of the Bush* was published in London in 1910 but never in New Zealand. Important works by Jessie Mackay, Jean Devanny, D'Arcy Cresswell, Eileen Duggan, Rex Fairburn and many others were *only* published overseas. These are all included in the New Zealand literary canon. However, discussions of publishing opportunities for New Zealand writers, such as Dennis McEldowney's "Publishing, Patronage and Literary Magazines" in the *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature* make only a brief mention of the opportunities available outside New Zealand.[57] This gives a very misleading picture of the availability of outlets.

As well as anomalies, there are significant gaps. Lawrence Jones' account of the clash between literary generations in the 1930s and 40s claims to deal with New Zealand literature, but mentions hardly any novels except for John Mulgan's *Man Alone*, Alan Mulgan's *Spur of Morning*, and passing references to Robin Hyde and John A. Lee. Writers who published novels in the 1930s and 40s whom he neglects to

[57] Dennis McEldowney, "Publishing, Patronage and Literary Magazines", Terry Sturm (ed.), *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature (OHNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

mention include Nelle Scanlan, Mary Scott, Jean Devanny, Rosemary Rees, Eric Baume, James Courage, Edith Lyttleton, Gloria Rawlinson, C. R. Allen, Margaret Escott, Alice Kenny and John Brodie. This is not because Jones is making judgements of quality, as he discusses many of the much maligned *Kowhai Gold* group of poets,[58] but because he has apparently accepted the cultural nationalists' definition of the New Zealand literary canon and does not go beyond this.

Rather than feeling uneasy about publishing their work overseas, writers often preferred to seek foreign publication because it was advantageous to do so. The audience to which British publishers had access was much larger, which gave writers better exposure and the potential for a better financial return. A. G. Stephens supposed that Miles Franklin's *My Brilliant Career* "could hardly have been published in Australia with a chance of profit: the local audience whom it will interest is far too scanty".[59] Jane Mander noted that the majority of New Zealand prose writers published their books in London and listed some reasons for this in a talk for Authors' Week in 1936:

> First of all reputable English publishers now almost invariably pay the novelist a cash advance on the expected sales. Thirty pounds is the usual minimum for an ordinary story by an unknown writer, but if the book rises above the ordinary, or has some special selling feature, the publisher may offer a larger sum, according to how much he likes it himself and is disposed to risk on it. The London publisher, who serves an enormous Empire market, can take risks that no New Zealand firm can ever afford to do.[60]

Thirty pounds (around a month and a half of the average wage[61]) was not a huge sum for the amount of work it took to write a novel, but this was far in advance of anything

---

[58] Lawrence Jones, "'Mulgan, Marris, Schroder': Repudiating the Literary Establishment", in Penny Griffith, Peter Hughes, and Alan Loney (eds.), *A Book in the Hand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000).
[59] John Barnes, p. 406. Stephens turned out to be wrong, as it sold 4,000 copies, mostly in Australia.
[60] Jane Mander, "N.Z. Authors and English Publishers", Talk for Authors' Week, Mander papers, NZMS 535, *Auckland Public Library (APL)*, p. 1.
[61] From the figure cited on page 43. It is not clear whether Mander is referring to British or New Zealand pounds here, but at least until 1930 they were more or less the same. In 1931 £100 = NZ$125,

you could get in New Zealand. C. R. Allen's novel *The Ship Beautiful* sold "between two and three thousand copies" after it was published by Frederick & Warne of London. For this Allen received "about Forty Pounds in all".[62]

There was a lot of prestige attached to having one's manuscript accepted by a respected London publisher. Eileen Duggan had the chance to have a collection of poems published and funded by New Zealand's State Literary Fund in 1947. She declined, and wrote to Stanley Unwin (of George Allen & Unwin) that "partly from independence, partly from loyalty, I would not like to leave your banner … I think a writer feels much the same pride in his publishers as a sailor in a ship".[63]

Others preferred the higher quality product that overseas publishers could offer, at least until the introduction of good quality typography in New Zealand in the 1930s. Ursula Bethell, when writing to Frank Sidgwick of Sidgwick & Jackson who published her first volume of poetry, *From a Garden in the Antipodes*, said of the end result, "The paper, the print, the size, the arrangement, the colour—as Raven says it's all so superior (I really think I must post you a copy of a little vol. of local verse recently published, to show you what I have escaped)".[64] Geoffrey de Montalk wrote to Pat Lawlor on receipt of his invitation to appear in the *New Zealand Artists' Annual*. He wrote: "I am far too stuck up to appear in such a "New Zealand" publication. You would have to change the whole thing from typography upwards before I could see my way to write ... I assure you I'd rather starve than appear in company with all the other bandaged moas. This moa won't be bandaged".[65]

---

as "in the late 1920s the rate of exchange between Britain and New Zealand diverged from the parity which had long been customary". Hawke, p. 151.

[62] C. R. Allen, letter to Pat Lawlor, 9 May 1934, Ref 77-067 7/2, *ATL*.

[63] Eileen Duggan, letter to Stanley Unwin, 27 October 1948, Allen & Unwin papers, AUC 345/10, *University of Reading Special Collections (URSC)*.

[64] Ursula Bethell to Frank Sidgwick, 5 Dec 1929, Sidgwick & Jackson papers, MSS 142, fols. 84-5, *Bodleian Library (BLSC)*, Oxford.

[65] Geoffrey de Montalk to Lawlor, 10 July 1930, Ref 77-067-3/1, *ATL*.

New Zealand writers viewed the whole colonial writing world as their publishing domain, and this allowed many of them to have successful careers without the necessity of leaving the country. The career of Hilda Rollett is an excellent example of how the colonial world worked for New Zealand-based authors. She was a successful journalist, and began writing for local publications such as the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Auckland Weekly News*. Over time she became a "prolific" contributor to magazines throughout the world, writing fiction that was published in English periodicals, the New York *Sun* and Australian journals including the *Bulletin*. She was the New Zealand representative for the London Lyceum Club and won a place in its first overseas literary competition. Such was her success and reputation that when she did travel to London in 1910 she received "a warm welcome from the Empire Press Union and the Institute of Journalists, London, and she was elected to both bodies".[66] By the early 1940s she was the New Zealand representative for *All About Books*, published in Melbourne. In a similar fashion to Rollett, the popular novelist Edith Lyttleton (who went by the pen-name G. B. Lancaster) began her career writing for *Pall Mall* and *Windsor* in the United Kingdom and *Harper's* and *Scribner's Magazines* in New York.[67] Eileen Duggan was another writer who had poems published in Australia, the United States and England. This was partly due to her work as a Catholic poet[68] and also her Irish work, but her New Zealand poems were appreciated overseas as well. Hector Bolitho's international success began in 1919 when he wrote a piece about a friend of Keats who had emigrated to New Zealand. This was accepted by the London

[66] Janet McCallum, "Rollett, Hilda 1873 -1970", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).
[67] Terry Sturm, *An Unsettled Spirit: the Life and Frontier Fiction of Edith Lyttleton (G. B. Lancaster)* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), p. 2.
[68] She wrote regularly for the *New Zealand Tablet* "by way of serving her Catholic faith". Frank McKay, *Eileen Duggan: New Zealand Writers and Their Work* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.5.

Observer with a cheque. He wrote of this: "my name had been printed in one of the noblest of England's newspapers and the world seemed to be in my hands".[69] To list a few others, Mary Scott, Isabel Peacocke and William Satchell all had very successful careers publishing overseas while remaining in New Zealand.

Colonial networks were not entirely confined to London publishing. British immigrants to New Zealand were disproportionately Scottish: at the turn of the century 10 per cent of the British population were Scottish, whereas 23 per cent of British-born New Zealanders were Scottish.[70] There were quite a number of poets, particularly around Dunedin, who wrote of Scotland or in the Scottish dialect and published in Scotland, as well as in England and New Zealand. Scotland also had important publishing houses, "such as Blackwood's, Chambers', and Murray's" who "published works of literature available at cheap prices throughout the world".[71] The poet Angus Robertson held the title of "Honourable Bard" of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand, while being a member of the Dunedin Burns Club and the Dunedin Pipe Band. John McGlashan and Robin Blochairn (real name Robert Hogg) were others: Robin Blochairn lived in Wellington and had three books of poetry published in Paisley, Scotland between 1917 and 1920. W. H. Guthrie Smith's book *Tutira: the Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station* was published by Blackwood's in Edinburgh. Jessie Mackay was also famous for her Scottish poetry.

The colonial writing world included Canada and it also facilitated some access to publishers in the United States, a still-emerging giant in English-language publishing that treasured its British literary heritage. New Zealanders published work in American magazines, and Table 2.2 shows that 13 books were published by New

[69] Bolitho (1962), p. 67.
[70] W. M. Roger Louis, "Introduction", *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 16.
[71] Louis, p. 16.

Zealanders in the United States between 1890 and 1945. More were published in the United States simultaneously with their London publication, though the official "first" publisher was the London one. Several authors made significant trips to the United States. Jane Mander studied at the Columbia School of Journalism and remained in New York for 13 years. Nelle Scanlan was in the United States from 1921 to 1923 and attended the first Limitation of Arms Conference in Washington DC. Edith Lyttleton travelled extensively in Canada and her book *The Law-Bringers*, about two Canadian Mounted Policemen, was made into a film in 1923 which "featured a cast of some of Hollywood's most famous actors at the time and achieved an impressive international success".[72] Later, she reflected further on her experiences in the Yukon in *The World is Yours*.

The literary links with North America were nowhere near as strong as those with Australia and Britain, however. As the numbers indicate, though New Zealanders did publish in the United States, they did this much less often than in Britain or Australia. Moreover, while some writers travelled there, they were far less numerous than those who went to Australia or Britain. Britain remained the centre of the colonial writing world,[73] and New Zealand cannot be viewed in isolation from its British connections.

The colonial writing world was more than just an informal collection of networks. It had a basis in economic policy as well, and economic links were strengthening during this time. Belich's idea of "recolonisation" hinges on the strengthening of those links, which became much tighter with the introduction of refrigerated shipping in 1882, enabling New Zealand to supply most of Britain's meat

[72] Sturm (2003), p. 1.
[73] Wevers says, with only a little exaggeration, that "Virtually everything was published in the United Kingdom, and there was almost no direct interaction with the United States despite huge literary similarities". Wevers (2001), p. 73.

and dairy products. This meant "the town-supply district of London had shifted 12,000 miles to the south".[74] Felicity Barnes argues that there was a continuing and interdependent relationship between the two countries. She equates this with James Belich's idea of continuing recolonisation: "recolonisation merges the boundaries of New Zealand and London and creates this shared analytical field".[75] Publishing, like many other things, worked in this shared and reciprocal fashion. British publishers had selling rights over the United States within the colonies due to the copyright law, as

> Britain's closed market was protected by copyright legislation which effectively gave British publishers exclusive rights to distribute their titles in Australia. Australia's book trade and readers were therefore part of an imperial cultural space, dominated and defended by London publishers, and shared with Canadians, South Africans, Indians, New Zealanders and other readers of the Empire.[76]

Australia was the "single largest off-shore market for British books" and this continued into the 1980s when British publishers got access to the American market.[77] By the 1920s, 3.5 million books were sold annually in Australia at a profit of over a million pounds.[78] The profits from Australasia as a whole must have been even greater.

Nonetheless, New Zealand's isolated position led to the false assumption that New Zealand was detached from the culture of the centre, and the large distances involved in publishing a book in Britain are assumed to have been prohibitive. A. G. Stephens told Joseph Furphy in 1897: "To send MS to London is to invite delay, heartburning, and weariness of flesh and soul, with a 90 per cent chance of rejection at

---

[74] Belich (2001), p. 53.
[75] Felicity Barnes, "New Zealand's London: The Metropolis and New Zealand's Culture, 1890-1940", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 2008), p. 8.
[76] Martyn Lyons, "Britain's Largest Export Market", in Lyons and Arnold (eds.), p. 22.
[77] Lyons, p. 10.
[78] Lyons, p. 10.

the hands of a reader who thinks of his English audience only".[79] There were, of course, difficulties in negotiating with publishers from a distance of 10,000 miles. Firstly there was the lengthy wait between sending a manuscript and receiving a reply: this entire process could take several months. In times of world war there was the added difficulty of not knowing whether the mail had arrived there at all, as the ships carrying mail were sometimes sunk and correspondence could easily fail to reach its intended destination. Stanley Unwin wrote to Eileen Duggan in 1941 asking if she had received copies of her book, saying that "most of the mails during one month seem to have gone to the bottom of the ocean".[80]

However, the distances involved in New Zealand's participation in the colonial writing world were much less of a hindrance than is commonly assumed. In the era before airmail services people thought little of writing a letter and waiting months for a reply, and people rejoiced that, with the introduction of steamships, the expected time for sending and receiving mail had been markedly sped up. The voyage from New Zealand to Britain took only about a third as long in the 1900s as in the early 1870s.[81] From the 1870s when the trans-Pacific route (via New York) began being used, the time for mail journeys was shortened to "31 ½ days between Auckland and London".[82] This fairly sudden shrinking of international space made the other side of the world seem much closer. New Zealanders may not, as Felicity Barnes suggests, have imagined themselves as London citizens,[83] but the heart of the colonial writing world certainly seemed closer.

---

[79] A.G. Stephens to Joseph Furphy, 22 May 1897, in John Barnes (1969) , p. 119.
[80] Stanley Unwin, letter to Eileen Duggan, 31 Mar 1931, AUC 110/13, *URSC*.
[81] Belich (2001), p. 68.
[82] Robinson, p. 141.
[83] "The familiar 'tyranny of distance' was imaginatively overcome as New Zealanders reconstituted themselves as metropolitan citizens". Felicity Barnes, p. 15.

Just as correspondences within New Zealand could be extended to include Australian writers, there existed lines of communication between New Zealand and Britain that maintained the two countries' interdependent relationship. The Jesuit priest C. C. Martindale met Eileen Duggan while visiting New Zealand and as a result asked Walter de la Mare to write an introduction for Duggan's *Poems* (1937). Because of this the two writers struck up a correspondence between London and Wellington which lasted for the next 18 years. De la Mare felt, through this correspondence (as well as his correspondence with Katherine Mansfield and Ian Donnelly), that "New Zealand gets nearer and nearer", although his hope of meeting Duggan was never fulfilled.

Long-distance negotiations could also be made a lot easier with the employment of a literary agent, a practice that became increasingly common from the late nineteenth century. J.B. Pinker was one of the more well-known agents in London and he represented William Satchell. Pinker facilitated the publication of *The Land of the Lost* in 1902,[84] and it was followed by *Toll of the Bush* in 1905 as No. 500 in Macmillan's Colonial Library. Pinker also became Edith Lyttleton's agent while she was still in New Zealand. She was internationally famous enough for him to approach her and ask to represent her. Following the success of *Son's O' Men* and *Spur to Smite*, he "solicited her business for a number of years before persuading her to dispense with her Melbourne agent, H. H. Champion, in 1908".[85]

In the end, it was often people high-up in the literary establishment, like Pat Lawlor, who helped establish publishing relationships for New Zealand writers overseas. Jane Mander wrote to Monte Holcroft in 1934 suggesting he send his manuscript to Endeavour Publishing (an arm of the *Bulletin*, based in Sydney), which

[84] Phillip Wilson, *William Satchell* (New York: Twayne Publishers 1968), p. 38.
[85] Sturm (2003), p. 97.

was responsible for over 2,000 copies of G. B. Lancaster's *Pageant* being sold in New Zealand. Pat Lawlor was Endeavour's New Zealand agent. Mander advised using Lawlor as a go-between, saying "though he pub-crawls at intervals he is a live wire on the selling side".[86] Alan Mulgan and John Schroder had existing literary contacts that could be utilised. Duggan wrote to Nettie Palmer in 1936 informing her that "at the request of Mr Kavanagh and Mr Mulgan Mr von Haast is taking the M.S. of my rhymes to London".[87] Duggan's *Poems* was published shortly after by Allen & Unwin.

Many writers utilised overseas contacts to simplify negotiations with publishers. Ursula Bethell was well-connected, since her grandfather had been "Shelley's housemaster at Eton".[88] She had also boarded with Arthur Mayhew's family while at school in Oxford, and many of her poems were addressed to Arthur's sister Ruth, who became her lifelong friend. Mayhew "had a distinguished career as an educational administrator in India, taught Classics at Eton, and then served in the Colonial Office in Whitehall, again in the field of educational administration".[89] He was also conveniently the long-time friend of Frank Sidgwick of the publishing firm Sidgwick & Jackson. Bethell sent a selection of her poems to him, he liked them and showed them to Sidgwick. "With little fuss", says Holcroft, *From a Garden in the Antipodes* was published.[90] Others used the services of friends who were already over in England. Geoffrey de Montalk acted as a go-between for Rex Fairburn before

---

[86] Jane Mander to Monte Holcroft, 26 June 1934, Holcroft papers, MS Papers 1186/6, *ATL*.
[87] Duggan to Palmer, 1936, MS Papers 801 2/5, *ATL*.
[88] Papers of Sidgwick & Jackson, MSS 142, *BLSC*.
[89] Peter Whiteford, "Secrets of Felicity: Letters of Ursula Bethell", *New Zealand Electronic Poetry Centre* http://www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz/authors/bethell/letters03.asp (updated 7 Aug 2005).
[90] Monte Holcroft, *Mary Ursula Bethell*, New Zealand Writers and their Work (Wellington; New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 20.

Fairburn himself went to London, and succeeded in getting *He Shall Not Rise* published by Colombia Press in 1930.[91]

Without connections, some authors simply sent their manuscripts off to British publishers and waited hopefully for a reply, relying on luck in their inter-hemisphere negotiations. This could have some success. Monte Holcroft adopted a vigorous "hit-and-miss" technique, sending stories and articles to one publication after another, a process that is well documented in his notebooks kept in the Alexander Turnbull Library. His notebook records, for example, that in January 1925 he received three pounds and three shillings from *Punch* for "Over the Wall". In 1925 he sent the story "Treasure Trove" to the *Bulletin*, *Punch*, the *Herald*, and the *Sunday Times* before finally getting it accepted by *John O' London's Weekly* in February 1926. Other times he had quick success, as when "The Lesser Lights", was accepted immediately by *Punch* in April 1925. The income that he derived from short stories and essays sent to periodicals in 1925 amounted to £160-10-5.[92] This was not bad considering the median yearly income in 1926 was £235.[93] Frank Sargeson also adopted the random approach to courting publishers in London. He says in his autobiography *More Than Enough* that upon receiving a rejection for the manuscript he had sent to Jonathan Cape he "recovered immediately … by posting it away to another London publishing house. For several years this posting back immediately to London was a regular routine".[94]

While writers' bitter complaints occasionally indicted both the New Zealand and the London literary scene for lack of support and encouragement, their lack of success was sometimes actually the result of their own lack of initiative or effort. R.

---

[91] Denys Trussell, *Fairburn* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1984), p. 83.
[92] Monte Holcroft, Notebook, from 1923, MSX-0253, *ATL*. Statistics are from 1925 entries.
[93] from census data – see page 43.
[94] Frank Sargeson, *More than Enough* (1975), reprinted in *Sargeson* (Auckland: Penguin, 1981), p. 172.

A. K. Mason's complaint is often cited as a prime example of New Zealand's failure to foster its writers. He wrote despairingly: "The Virgils […] starve in our English streets, / But oh, Maecenas, hard you are to find!" Maecenas, as Barrowman writes, was the patron of Horace and Virgil, and literary patrons were harder to find than Mason would have liked.[95] This was written on the back of a rejection letter for a temporary teaching job. Yet Mason was approached repeatedly by British bookman Harold Munro, who was very keen to publish his work and generally promote him within the English literary scene (Mason had initially enterprisingly sent Munro 50 copies of *The Beggar*). Mason neglected to reply to his letters, not because of some sort of loyalty to local publishing (at this stage there was very little to be loyal to except for Whitcombe and Tombs) but because he was too lackadaisical to do anything about it.[96] He had a willing patron whom he failed to take advantage of.

Authors dissatisfied with the opportunities available to them in New Zealand sometimes complained that British publishers were not interested in New Zealand material. This further fuelled rumours that it was disadvantageous to be a New Zealand writer. Upon being informed that *Pageant* had not been selected as the Book Society's "Book of the Month" Edith Lyttleton remarked, "I'm afraid there must be some truth in the assertion that England is not interested in Australia or New Zealand".[97] Nelle Scanlan was so convinced by the assertion that she began writing books set in London, saying: "something romantic and dramatic can happen in Piccadilly Circus but not on Lambton Quay".[98] Jane Mander wrote in the *Sun* in 1925: "Many of our writers are successful, as far as magazine work goes. But when you talk

[95] R.A.K. Mason, written on the back of a letter from the Seddon Memorial Technical College, 19 Sept 1923, MS 990/15/1, *Hocken Library (HL)*, Dunedin, in Rachel Barrowman, *Mason: The Life of R. A. K. Mason* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2003), p. 39.
[96] Barrowman, p.58.
[97] Edith Lyttleton to Mr Skinner, 18 Feb 1933, AUC 37/6, *URSC*.
[98] Nelle Scanlan, *Road to Pencarrow* (London: Robert Hale, 1963), p. 181.

of colonial "literature" to a London critic he asks you exactly what it is".[99] Alan Mulgan wrote in an article for PEN that the British public was "not much interested in New Zealand".[100]

These complaints reflected the writers' frustrations, not reality, for in fact New Zealand material was a very marketable commodity. Nelle Scanlan discovered that she was mistaken in her belief that London-based material would sell better, and to her surprise was asked by her London publisher to write about New Zealand. This advice led to her very successful *Pencarrow* series, set in the Hutt Valley and the Wairarapa. Indeed, most works published in Britain and written by New Zealanders had New Zealand content, as the following table demonstrates:

Table 2.3 - Content of books by New Zealand authors 1890-1945

Place of publication	All or mostly NZ content	Some NZ content	No NZ content	Unknown
New Zealand	171	50	80	44
United Kingdom	150	19	99	44
Australia	11	5	21	9
United States	5	0	7	1
Other	1	0	0	1

If we analyse the figures for books whose content is known, we find that 56 per cent of the books published by New Zealand authors in Britain in this period had all or mostly New Zealand content (63 per cent when the "somes" are added).[101] Books that are judged to have "no" New Zealand content include many for which the setting is unspecific. These are usually books of poetry, and they may well have been written about something local as well. 63 per cent of the books published in Britain had some

[99] Jane Mander, "A London Letter: Another N.Z. Writer" The *Sun*, Feb 20 1925.
[100] Alan Mulgan, "Letters in NZ" no date, typescript, MS 224-31, *ATL*.
[101] Again, the work of Fergus Hume is omitted from this information. Hume's 120 books had virtually no New Zealand content.

overtly New Zealand content, putting paid to the idea that New Zealand content did not get published. 57 per cent of books published in New Zealand between 1890 and 1945 had all or mostly New Zealand content.[102] 73 per cent had at least some New Zealand content. More strikingly, the figures for "all or mostly New Zealand content" books are very similar for those published in New Zealand and Britain, indicating that the place of publication made very little difference to the content.

When these figures are provided just for novels published in this period, the importance of New Zealand content becomes even more obvious.

Table 2.4 - Content of *novels* by New Zealand authors 1890-1945

Place of publication	All or mostly NZ content	Some NZ content	No NZ content	Unknown
New Zealand	36	1	6	3
United Kingdom	119	4	73	23
Australia	6	0	11	3
United States	4	0	7	0
Other	0	0	0	0

Fully 61 per cent of the novels published in the United Kingdom whose content is known had all or mostly New Zealand content. The percentage for novels published in New Zealand was even higher, coming in at 84 per cent.

All of the novelists mentioned so far in this study, with the exception of Monte Holcroft and Dulcie Deamer, created work in a New Zealand setting, or with colonial characters in an English setting. This was the case even though they were largely writing within traditional English genres. Ngaio Marsh, for example, was extremely successful as a crime writer in the English tradition, but liberally used New Zealand settings and characters throughout her novels, taking advantage of the unique perspective she had access to. Three of her pre-1945 novels, *Vintage Murder* (1937),

[102] Of those whose content is known.

Colour Scheme (1943), and *Died in the Wool* (1944), were set in New Zealand and she had her protagonist Inspector Alleyn posted there during the war on counterespionage duty. British readers were deeply interested in the colonies. An article in the *Press* on Samuel Butler noted that a Cambridge academic was astonished to find "to what an extent English people looked upon Butler as a New Zealander, and how interested they were in his New Zealand experiences. Men of letters who did not know that there is such a city as Auckland or Wellington, know all about a sheep run called Mesopotamia, and a river called the Rangitata".[103]

While New Zealand content was very popular, particularly in novels, it appears that some of the writers themselves were not aware of this, at least initially. Alan Mulgan wrote in 1928 that "the vastly greater public in Britain does not seem to care for" novels about New Zealand.[104] Mary Scott's autobiographical *The Unwritten Book* features a back-blocks farmer's wife who has written for local papers but longs to "break into the English papers". At one point, she asks: "who would be interested in the New Zealand backblocks?"[105] In the book, and in Scott's actual life, these doubts were circumvented by a friend who secretly posted one of her short manuscripts to Alan Monkhouse, literary editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. It was accepted for three guineas, and longer work set locally was suggested.[106] Scott went on to write popular novels about her experiences in New Zealand.

Nor were all New Zealand authors necessarily aware of the large numbers of New Zealand books that were published in Britain. Jane Mander gave a talk in 1932 which was reported in the Auckland *Star*. According to the reporter, Mander had said that

---

[103] "The Butler Cult at Home", in the *Press*, 10 March, 1925.
[104] Alan Mulgan, "Difficulties of the New Zealand Novelist", *Art in New Zealand*, Dec 1928.
[105] Mary Scott, *The Unwritten Book* (Wellington: Reed, 1957), p. 143.
[106] Mary Scott, *Days that Have Been* (Auckland: Blackwood & J. Paul, 1966), p. 165; Mary Scott (1957), p. 143.

> the numbers of New Zealand authors who had been published in London was very small. She mentioned [Isabel] Maud Peacock[e], Nelle Scanlan, Hector Bolitho, Edith Howes and a few others, not more than ten. Yet hundreds of novels were sent to the publishers with the hope that they might be accepted.[107]

In fact, between 1890 and 1932 there had been 50 individual authors who had succeeded in getting a total of 130 novels published in the United Kingdom (and this is excluding the 120 novels of Fergus Hume). This total would obviously be higher if pre-1890 novels were included. Mander was right, however, about the "hundreds of novels" sent to publishers in the hope of acceptance.

In reality it was an advantage to be a New Zealand writer within the British market, because New Zealand writers were able to take advantage of the British appetite for the "colonial exotic" which was staple fare within the colonial writing world. The history of the exoticisation of elements of colonial life and experience began as soon as Europeans began to explore far-flung parts of the world and brought back tales of curious lands and strange peoples. This cult of the exotic was tied up with the tropes of European Romanticism, modified in the nineteenth century, and found in works "from Rousseau to Ossian to Ruskin to the Celtic Revival".[108] Curiosity about colonial life "did not necessarily translate into an appreciation of what was original and unconventional in the literary work coming from different parts of the Empire, but it did represent an opening that [colonial writers] could attempt to exploit".[109] New Zealand was no exception, and Patrick Evans has noted that the introduction of tourism in the 1880s meant that "the Antipodes became a stage in a world circuit of marvels to be gazed at by touring Europeans".[110]

---

[107] "Women's Forum –The Fiction Market", Auckland *Star*, Nov 12 1932, NZMS 535, Folder 9, box 1, *APL*.
[108] Stafford and Willliams, p. 35.
[109] John Barnes (2007), p. 408.
[110] Patrick Evans, *The Long Forgetting* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2007), p. 62.

British readers were particularly fascinated with tales of native races, something that New Zealand could provide in abundance. Tales of pre-contact Māori appealed to British idealists who had embraced the romantic concept of the "noble savage", defined as "an idealized concept of uncivilized man, who symbolizes the innate goodness of one not exposed to the corrupting influences of civilization".[111] Descriptions of Māori life and culture fulfilled this need. There was a demand for exotic tales, both from newspapers and from overseas publishing houses. These were not realistic descriptions of modern Māori, but rather romanticised stories from pre-contact times. Both from an ethnographic point of view, and simple curiosity, the "Ossianic Maori became a feature of New Zealand colonial literature, consumed by the New Zealand reading public and by a British readership agog for adventures of empire".[112] This romantic treatment of Māori reflected the fact that by the 1890s "the Maoris themselves were no longer perceived as a threat"[113] and were thought to be a dying race. The modern reality of Māori life was not deemed an appropriate or necessary subject to write about. Māori writers in English numbered very few at this time, but no doubt would have attracted great interest in Britain.[114] Stafford and Williams note the value placed on Alfred Domett's epic and unwieldy poem *Ranolf and Amohia* because of its indigenous themes, despite its being as far removed from colonial life "as fact is from fiction".[115] For the same reason, Alfred A. Grace's *Tales of a Dying Race* sold well in Britain, having "taken a firm hold upon the British book-buyers".[116]

---

[111] Encyclopedia Britannica Online, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/416988/noble-savage (2011).
[112] Stafford and Williams, p. 46.
[113] Phillips (1983), p. 526.
[114] Apirana Ngata was a poet as well as scholar and statesman and Stafford and Williams devote a chapter to him.
[115] Alfred Domett, *Ranolf and Amohia: A South Sea Day-dream* (London: Smith, Elder, 1872); Stafford and Williams, p. 36.
[116] Nelson Wattie, "Grace, Alfred Augustus", *DNZB* (updated 1Sep 2010).

Another type of writing that fascinated English readers dealt with the adventures of pioneers: tales of Britons in far-flung places overcoming the elements. One such book was George Chamier's *Philosopher Dick: Adventures and Contemplations of a New Zealand Shepherd*, thought to be autobiographical, which focuses on a young gentleman immigrant. Chamier himself emigrated to New Zealand in 1860 and spent about two years as a cadet on a North Canterbury sheep station.[117] He spent only a decade in New Zealand before he left for Tasmania, and he was in Adelaide by the time the book was published in 1891. Many books were written dealing with the tribulations of life on the frontier, and William Satchell's tale of the Northland gumfields, *The Land of the Lost*, is an example.[118] Edith Lyttleton's *Promenade* is an at times fascinating account of the early days of settlement in Kororareka (Russell) before and after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Adventurous narratives had a political role within the colonial world as well, as they "were instrumental in developing the 'pervasive set of attitudes and ideas towards the rest of the world' that circulated in colonial ideology and were implemented in imperial politics".[119]

Pioneering life also made an excellent back-drop for another very popular genre: the colonial romance. There are many examples of this type amongst the list of New Zealand publications, all eagerly buying into the romantic tropes of the time. These stories often featured an unconventional heroine and a reticent but capable hero, revealing much about stock tropes of the colonial "character", and were obviously designed to strike a chord with readers throughout the colonial writing world. Walter Smyth's *Jean of the Tussock Country* was published by Mills & Boon

[117] Lawrence Jones, "'Chamier, George 1842 – 1915", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).
[118] William Satchell, *The Land of the Lost* (London: Methuen, 1902).
[119] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca: NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 8, in Lydia Wevers, *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2010), p. 196.

in 1928. In this story, an English "new chum"[120] has to prove himself to the surly locals and at the same time falls in love with the boss's daughter, an "outdoorsy" type with "unruly copper coloured hair that refused to remain concealed under her broad-brimmed felt hat" and a face "tanned a delicate shade of brown, which harmonised perfectly with the deeper hint of her humorous eyes".[121] Isabel Peacocke's *The Guardian* also features a tomboyish heroine who falls in love with an uncommunicative but dependable farm manager. Another example is Alice Kenny's *The Rebel*.[122] Mary Scott's first few novels were historical romances set in the far North.

Guidebooks and travelogues were frequently produced to promote New Zealand as a tourist destination, and literature that dealt with the exotic scenery and nature of New Zealand was also marketable overseas. The interest in New Zealand writing sometimes had more to do with interest in antipodean lifestyles and scenery than in literature, and there are many examples of appalling writing that seems to have been published only by virtue of its entertainment value as "colonial exotic". F. Hellier's *Colonials in Khaki*, which was published in London in 1916, reads like a tourist guide cut and pasted into a stilted conversation. It follows the round-the-world trip of two New Zealand girls, one of whom exclaims at one point that Kipling's lines about New Zealand are "a perfect description of the whole of New Zealand, which with its romantic scenery might well be numbered amongst the Pacific Gems".[123] This is followed by conversation stoppers like: "Every inch of New Zealand is worth seeing, from the snow-clad Alps to the thermal regions of Rotorua. Why, the

[120] "New chums": the surly Scottish station-master says "Englishman, eh?—Well, we no employ new chums here!" he muttered grimly". Walter Smyth, *Jean of the Tussock Country* (London: Mills & Boon, 1928), p. 25.
[121] Smyth, p. 20.
[122] Isabel Peacocke, *The Guardian* (London: Ward, Lock, 1920); Alice A. Kenny, *The Rebel* (Sydney: Macquarie Head Press, 1934).
[123] F Hellier, *Colonials in Khaki* (London: Murray & Evenden, 1916), p. 15.

mountain, lake and river scenery is magnificent!"[124] Character development is non-existent and it is a shock when human emotions or relationships are referred to. The fact that the book achieved publication is testimony to the appeal of New Zealand themes.

From the beginning New Zealand had been seen as a social experiment, stemming from Edward Gibbon Wakefield's attempts at systematic colonisation. Innovations where New Zealand led the way were of great interest to people debating political and social issues in their own countries. Experiments such as the introduction of women's suffrage were watched eagerly from Britain to see how they would turn out. British suffragists were interested in hearing of New Zealand's success to fuel their own campaigns, as Raewyn Dalziel argues.[125] By 1908 there was a majority in the House of Commons for women's suffrage but, to the chagrin of suffragists, the progress of reform was held up by political factors including the opposition of the Prime Minister Herbert Asquith. As New Zealand and Australia had already implemented reform, there was a lot of interest in literature from these countries that touched on the relations of men and women. Edith Searle Grossmann's *In Revolt* was published in London and Sydney in 1893, the same year that women gained the right to vote in New Zealand. It tells the story of the turbulent existence of Hermione, who tries to escapes from a brutal husband. The sequel to *In Revolt*, *Hermione: A Knight of the Holy Ghost*, was published in London in 1908. Hermione aims to "repudiate all together the subjection of women to men".[126] She is forced eventually to go back to her husband, resulting in her suicide. Often writers who questioned the role of women and the immorality of extra-marital relationships, such as Jane Mander and Jean

[124] Hellier, p. 51.
[125] Raewyn Dalziel, "Presenting the Enfranchisement of New Zealand Women Abroad", in Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan (eds.), *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994).
[126] Edith Searle Grossmann, *Hermione: A Knight of the Holy Ghost* (London: Watts, 1908), p. 200.

Devanny, were less well received in New Zealand than overseas. British publishers and readers were more accepting of their work than were the New Zealand public, and it was British publishers who put out other feminist novels by Louisa Baker, Constance Clyde and Susie Mactier.

The inclusion of New Zealand elements in their work gave New Zealand writers an edge that appealed to publishers, and the reading public. Reviews of New Zealand books in the *Times Literary Supplement* between 1890 and 1945 have a recurring theme: although the reviewer did not think much of the book, a redeeming feature was the unique colonial or native element. A review of Rosemary Rees' *Home is Where the Heart Is* from 1935 states: "The setting of this novel in the New Zealand sheeplands gives a fresh charm to an otherwise undistinguished romantic narrative".[127] Similarly, a reviewer of Sophie Osmond's *Ponga Bay* found it redeemed by its New Zealand content: "The narrative is weakly constructed, but the author obviously knows her New Zealand well, and the main interest of the book lies in its drawings of native life and character".[128] The obvious "colonialism" in Arthur H. Adam's *Tussock Land* was described as "the source of freshness and interest in his book" in an otherwise unenthusiastic review.[129] Rees' *Heather of the South* is described as "ordinary, almost humdrum", but "the author's work is of interest in exhibiting the essential contrasts between New Zealand and Great Britain, and in displaying from an intimate knowledge the life of that country".[130]

Appearing in a collection of works collected under an "Australasian" or "New Zealand" umbrella could also be helpful. The reviewer of the *Kowhai Gold* anthology in the *Times Literary Supplement* supported the claim in the book's introduction that

[127] Review of *Home is Where the Heart Is*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 1732, 11 April 1935, p. 246.
[128] Review of *Ponga Bay*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 1100, 15 Feb 1923, p. 110.
[129] Altrincham, Baron (Edward William Macleay Grigg), Review of *Tussock Land*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 121, 5 June 1904, p. 140 .
[130] Review of *Heather of the South*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 1187, 16 Oct 1924, p. 653.

"The future no longer seems full of emptiness, and the foundations of a New Zealand literature are being laid".[131] He went on to say that "New Zealand is probably at the present time richer in literary originality than any other Dominion" and that at least 12 of the book's contributors were "poets of distinction who can write on occasion verse that is delicately memorable and who, even in their less inspired moments, are fresh and individual". Had these poets been English writers struggling on their own in London, they may not have attracted such favourable notice. Some allowances may have been made for the colonial status of the authors, and the perception of "freshness" may have stemmed partly from the poems' colonial setting.

If a writer wanted to write about New Zealand he or she had to stick to certain themes and the work had to be English in its presentation. As Mander advised Holcroft: "If books are to be published in London they must be as English as possible in phrase unless their merit rests upon their strangeness… there should be as few as possible mannerisms or local touches in any book, wherever written, that has to do with universal character".[132] She also advised him to approach the publishers Hodder and Stoughton, as "they are more friendly to stuff set overseas than many other firms".[133] A few writers ran into difficulties because their writing was too firmly based on New Zealand idioms. Frank Anthony's "Me and Gus" stories had to be re-written, "toning down much of their lively original vernacular flavour", when they were presented to English publishers.[134]

The general attitude of modern critics and literary historians to most of the material that was published in Britain by New Zealand authors is dismissal: it is seen as largely low in quality or at any rate not as "authentic" New Zealand literature. This

[131] Reproduced in the *Sun*, 3 January, 1931.
[132] Jane Mander to Monte Holcroft, 23 Dec 1932, MS Papers 1186/6, *ATL*.
[133] Jane Mander to Monte Holcroft, 9 May 1932, MS Papers 1186/6, *ATL*.
[134] Sturm, Terry, "Anthony, Frank Sheldon 1891 – 1927", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).

means that much writing by New Zealanders is completely ignored, including a number of gems. As soon as the question of "authenticity" is removed, however, the picture is transformed. Interesting social commentary abounds, for example in Prudence Cadey's temperance novel *Broken Pattern*. It shatters the expected portrait of New Zealand as a settler paradise with its description of the "higgledy piggledy little houses with their corrugated iron roofs; or the dusty, littered streets",[135] and its statement that the grand scenery is "so different from what we expected. It's so bare and bleak and desolate. It frightens me".[136] It also confronts the "great big black ogre" of alcohol abuse that was believed by some to hang over the country. [137] The colonial writing world gave New Zealand authors the freedom to say these things about their society, whereas local publishers were reluctant to touch them.

Writers could access a multitude of overseas opportunities without leaving New Zealand's shores, but this fact is not often acknowledged. Despite the emphasis that has always been placed on expatriatism among New Zealand writers, a significant number found they could stay in New Zealand. This was because the existence of the colonial writing world removed the necessity of going overseas. There are 118 New Zealand writers who published books between 1890 and 1945 for whom there is adequate biographical information to be included in my database. This list is included as Appendix B. Of these writers, 53 stayed in New Zealand between 1890 and 1945, and 10 more left only for short trips lasting a year or less (for holidaying, sightseeing or visiting relatives).

[135] Prudence Cadey, *Broken Pattern* (London: Fenland Press, 1933), p. 79.
[136] Cadey, p. 104.
[137] Cadey, p. 258.

Chapter Three : Leaving New Zealand

3.1 Assumptions

Contemporary and modern accounts often agree that early twentieth-century New Zealand writers felt as if they existed in a state of "exile" at the colonial periphery, requiring their expatriation from the colonies in favour of life in one of the cultural centres. It is generally thought to be true that "writers of individual talent and temperament found themselves in an unpromising environment and tried to escape from it".[1] In *Tomorrow* in 1934 a columnist claimed that "all our young artists and thinkers have to go abroad before they can achieve creative emancipation and success".[2] Winnie Gonley said in 1932 that "Jane Mander has written four novels of New Zealand life, but, receiving little encouragement in this colony, she has gone to America".[3] Modern writers have often agreed. For Andrew Gurr, "writers in exile" are those born in the "small, immobile, close-knit communities [like New Zealand] which sociologists call *Gemeinschaft*"—communities where "art tends to be conservative, traditional, conformist". Exiles are forced to leave for the "seductive freedom" of the *Gesellschaft*—"large, impersonal and individualistic societies", that include cultural metropolises such as London.[4]

The concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* were first coined by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies in 1887, and Gurr applies them to writers in the colonies, including New Zealand. However, there is a great deal of doubt about whether New Zealand qualified as a *Gemeinschaft* at all. Rather than being organised

[1] Monte Holcroft, "A Professional Expatriate", in Ray Knox (ed.), *New Zealand's Heritage* (Wellington: Paul Hamlyn, 1971-1973), p. 2210.
[2] "A Woman's Point of View", *Tomorrow* (1934), p. 15.
[3] No matter that all her novels were written *after* she left the country. Winnie Gonley, "New Zealand Life in Contemporary Literature", MA Thesis (University of New Zealand, 1932), p. 16.
[4] Andrew Gurr, *Writers in Exile: The Identity of Home in Modern Literature* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981), p. 7.

into "small, immobile, close-knit" village-like groups, society in early New Zealand was, according to Miles Fairburn, highly mobile and fragmented. Because of the pioneering nature of society and the itinerant nature of jobs, "community structures were few and weak and the forces of social isolation were many and powerful".[5] Rather than being "close-knit", Fairburn argues, the people were "atomised", meaning socially isolated from one another. The nature of work in the early colony meant that itinerancy was common, as workers moved around to temporary jobs wherever they were available. New Zealand communities, therefore, were not "immobile" either.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when people lived increasingly in towns and small cities, they were still not living in a *Gemeinschaft*. The timing of colonial expansion when it reached New Zealand meant that it was part of advances brought about by the industrial revolution. The institutions of modernity reached New Zealand simultaneously with the creation of these communities. Thus, people were organised into communities, but these were not organic, primitive communities. Rather, they were "instantly modern", and sometimes deliberately planned to be so. New Zealand cities were examples of "planted communities", planned overseas and transplanted whole to the colonies.[6] Moreover, with New Zealanders' high rates of literacy, their wealth and their links with Britain as the world's first industrial nation and the centre of the Empire, they were able to gain access to much that was up-to-date.

Gurr uses New Zealand and Katherine Mansfield as one of his main examples. He writes: "[James] Joyce, Katherine Mansfield, [V. S.] Naipaul and Ngugi [wa Thiong'o] all grew up in colonial or post-colonial provinces which gave them little

---

[5] Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), p. 11.
[6] Christchurch is a good example of this. See Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005) and D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

option but to detach themselves and adopt the life of the exile".[7] This presentation of New Zealand and other colonial provinces as peripheral outposts which required people of artistic temperament to leave and go to the centre of action is indeed the general consensus regarding the fate of New Zealand writers, particularly before 1945. Eric McCormick comments on the ship journey out from England described in William Satchell's *The Elixir of Life*:

> Had the voyage been made in the opposite direction, the list would almost certainly have included one writer or more, for from the time of B. L. Farjeon and Fergus Hume there had been a steady export of New Zealand talent which reached its greatest dimensions in the years after 1918.[8]

By acknowledging only the writers leaving, he gives the impression of a permanent, one-way flow of people from the periphery to the centre. Despite the glaring inaccuracies of this model, it is one that has come to be widely accepted.

While the pattern of dual exile is seldom questioned, there is very little consensus over the actual reasons behind this supposed mass exodus. Preoccupied with his cultural nationalist agenda, Allen Curnow blamed New Zealand's early twentieth-century cultural reliance on Britain. To him, this meant that "fine talents had to leave this unreal community, which had lost its footing in history and could find none on its own ground; they sought some reality, some point from which thought could depart or imagination take flight".[9] As we have seen, the fact that their culture was "imported" was not a great concern to Pākehā New Zealanders at this time; rather, it was accepted as the natural outcome of their particular circumstances. It did not cause great mental conflict for the people it affected, beyond a general curiosity to see the places that much of the available literature spoke of. As a cultural

---

[7] Gurr, pp. 18-9.
[8] Eric McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), p. 130.
[9] Allen Curnow, "Introduction", *A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-1945* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1945), p. 22.

nationalist, however, Curnow believed that this state of mind was untenable, and for him it was the crux of the country's culture problems. It did not allow, he thought, for the creation of something unique and vital to New Zealand, and he believed that its dominance drove creative spirits into exile. However, as we have seen, Curnow's concerns were shared by few writers prior to his own generation of cultural nationalists, which means that this is not an acceptable explanation for the "expatriatism" of New Zealand writers in earlier generations.

The irrelevance of the British literary canon to New Zealand life was seen as a problem by cultural nationalists. It was sometimes blamed for the supposed prevalence of expatriatism among New Zealand writers, as it was assumed that reading imported literature made some people feel that they had to go back to where the literature was imported from. Curnow wrote in his introduction: "Already, by the 90s, it had become natural for the more active-minded New Zealander to regard literature, poetry most of all, as a thing disembodied from any living and tangible surrounding".[10]

There was nothing particularly unusual about the situation, however, as literature is virtually always read "disembodied" from its surroundings. The majority of people reading Wordsworth, for example, were not in the Lake District at the time. They were more likely to be in a built-up area of London surrounded by grey buildings, noise and smoke. The rural scenes of New Zealand were more likely to be relatable to English pastoral imagery than London. It is not a requirement of literature to be about the place the reader is in, and sometimes the opposite is preferred when escapism is desired.

[10] Curnow (1945), p. 21.

Nor does it make a lot of sense to say that the problem with New Zealand writing was that it relied on the adaptation of foreign language and poetic techniques to describe a land never before encountered by the cultural owners of these techniques. Surely "unstoried waters" could be "storied" without that much trouble? Language, like culture, is not necessarily fixed to a location. The more florid English clichés involving gently rolling hills and pleasant meadows might have been unusable, but there is no obvious reason why other English words could not be used to describe the new scenery. No-one ever suggested that New Zealanders had to invent an entirely new language to live and communicate in New Zealand, yet it has been argued that they needed to do this to describe it.[11] When the cultural nationalists began their attempts at fashioning a new way of writing New Zealand literature they merely simplified the language they used, removing the more hackneyed expressions of poetry. This was a more appropriate way of proceeding, but it was not new. New Zealand writers had been attempting this for a long time. Using clichés was a sign of a poor writer, not a reason to flee overseas.

Both contemporary and later commentators assumed that the lack of infrastructure available to assist writers forced them overseas, apparently not realising the extent to which this infrastructure was provided by the colonial writing world. In his 1940 assessment, Eric McCormick wrote that "the voyage 'Home' had become an established institution" because, for writers, "there were cogent economic reasons" to travel to Britain.[12] Louisa Baker, according to Kirstine Moffat, was "the first New Zealand woman to succeed in making a career out of writing novels, publishing seventeen books between 1894 and 1910". Moffat goes on to say:

[11] E.g. by Jane Stafford in *Maoriland* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006).
[12] McCormick (1940), p. 130.

> this success was only possible when Baker left New Zealand to pursue her literary career in England, a departure that later authors, such as Jane Mander and Katherine Mansfield, were to follow … Baker's predicament was typical of the dilemma facing creative artists in colonial New Zealand … the few publishing companies based in New Zealand were reluctant to publish works by unknown, local authors. Baker had no option but to pursue her literary dream overseas.[13]

Thus Moffat, like many others, equates publishing overseas with literary expatriatism.

Moffat and McCormick exhibit ignorance of (or, in McCormick's case, perhaps a disinclination to acknowledge) the more common approach which was made possible by the existence of the colonial writing world: many writers' books were published in Britain while they themselves remained in New Zealand. Despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, it is assumed that there was a direct and causal correlation between overseas publishing and the requirement for the writers themselves to go overseas. This logic, however, takes two steps forward when only one is justified. While writers were often obliged to seek a publisher overseas, this was not the same as being forced to go there themselves. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, the lack of a local writing infrastructure was not the reason some writers left the country either, as through the colonial writing world they had access to overseas publishing infrastructure, while being supported by local initiatives at lower levels.

People at the time were not always aware of the importance of overseas publishing, or they chose to ignore it to emphasise later local advances. Pat Lawlor wrote in 1962:

> In the 30s and 40s a further impetus was given through the interest shown by visiting London publishers, notably by Stanley Unwin and Hugh Dent. The expatriate writers (Hector Bolitho, Jane Mander and Nelle Scanlan) had

[13] Kirstine Moffat, "Louisa Alice Baker, 1856-1926", *Kōtare Special Issue: Essays in New Zealand Literary Biography Series One 'Women Prose Writers to World War I'* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi071Kota-t1-g1-t3.html.

> already achieved London publication, but when the resident N.Z. writers (John Lee, John Schroder, Gloria Rawlinson and Alan Mulgan) were published overseas other writers worked furiously to achieve similar distinction.[14]

Lawlor implied that up until the 1930s the only people getting published in London were expatriates. In fact, between 1890 and 1929 there were 54 books (33 novels) published by New Zealand authors in London while the authors themselves were in New Zealand (probably more, but in the case of some authors there is not enough information to ascertain their whereabouts). These were by a total of 34 separate authors. A further 12 books (11 novels) were published in this way by New Zealand authors in Australia. Lawlor was incorrect in implying that before the 1930s publishing in London was only possible upon relocation.

Aside from simply not being informed of the significant numbers of New Zealand writers actually being published in Britain, a possible reason for this surprising blind-spot on their own literary scene is the unrealistic expectations writers had of their own talents as artists. Finding they did not achieve publication as freely and easily as they perhaps thought they ought to, they assumed it was the fault of being in New Zealand, and insisted that writers must leave to achieve success. New Zealand authors may have overestimated the disadvantages afforded to them by living in New Zealand.

A widespread idea about current New Zealand society is that it is necessary for New Zealanders to prove themselves by being recognised overseas before their talents are acknowledged and appreciated in New Zealand. It is easy to assume this was the case in the early part of the twentieth century as well and attribute the cause of the "exodus" of New Zealand writers to this need for overseas approval. Some authors at the time thought this as well. Jane Mander wrote to Monte Holcroft in 1931 that she

---

[14] Pat Lawlor, Draft of "New Zealand Writing: A Survey", Lawlor papers, 77-067 7/2, *Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL)*, Wellington.

was homesick and considering returning to New Zealand, adding: "but I do need the publicity of a book or two to start me off as a writer out there, and so I am hoping to get yet another book that I have started finished before I come".[15]

Others also seemed to feel their work needed to be published overseas in order to be respected at home. Henry Lawson complained that Australian readers were only interested if books were published in Britain,[16] while Christina Stead recalled showing a collection of her short stories to Angus & Robertson only to find they rejected it, "saying that she would have to be published in London first, before they would take her work".[17] There was no equivalent to Angus & Robertson in New Zealand, so there was even less choice for New Zealanders if they wanted to get their books published in New Zealand.

Firstly, these are two different issues: getting published overseas did not require expatriation. It was quite common for writers to be highly successful overseas and virtually unknown in New Zealand. This was true both of those who wrote from outside the country, such as Rosemary Rees, or those who never left, like Isabel Peacocke. Whether New Zealanders were interested in their work or not mattered little as the local market was insignificant in compared to the British one. As Aorewa McLeod notes, the "small and conservative New Zealand readership was not the major audience for novels written by New Zealanders or about New Zealand".[18] This was partly because, as Terry Sturm points out, some New Zealand writers were less widely read in New Zealand than overseas "primarily because of poor distribution

---

[15] Jane Mander to Monte Holcroft, 9 Nov 1931, Holcroft papers, MS Papers 1186/6, *ATL*.
[16] Roslyn Russell, *Literary Links: Celebrating the Literary Relationship between Australia and Britain* (St. Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1997), p. 84.
[17] Drusilla Modjeska, *Exiles at Home: Australian Women Writers 1925-1945* (London: Sirius Books, 1981), p. 30.
[18] Aorewa McLeod, "A Home in this World: Why New Zealand Women Stopped Writing", *Women's Studies Journal*, 14:2 (1998), p. 68.

arrangements by their British publishers".[19] Authors who encountered this problem included Isabel Peacocke and Edith Lyttleton. Indeed, in Peacocke's case, "Many novels sold out in England before reaching New Zealand".[20] While Guy Scholefield, journalist and later parliamentary librarian, greatly doubted whether "the New Zealand public has any keen desire to read books about this country",[21] poor local sales were more likely the result of British publishers' neglect of the New Zealand market. Nelle Scanlan was relatively well-known in New Zealand but her major readership was undoubtedly located overseas. When called upon to give New Zealand-specific figures for sales of *Pencarrow* she had no idea of the numbers, as her statements from Robert Hale covered the whole field.[22]

In fact, there were a number of examples of writers being successful and highly praised overseas but actually disliked or overtly criticised in New Zealand. Writing which was successful in London often had a different reception at home. Margaret Escott's *Show Down*, for example, was praised in London but "some New Zealand critics found it problematic because of its departure from recognised themes and techniques".[23] Hector Bolitho compiled a book of his reviews to highlight the discrepancy between the English and New Zealand responses, as Isabel Peacocke (writing under the name Isabel Cluett) reported: "even now these stubborn New Zealanders, despite the flattering extracts from English reviews with which his books are hall-marked, so to speak, maintain their critical and half-scornful attitude towards

---

[19] Terry Sturm, "Popular Fiction", *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature (OHNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). pp. 505-6.
[20] Heather Murray, "Peacocke, Isabel Maud", in Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature (OCNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 434.
[21] Review of *New Zealand in Evolution*, by Guy H. Scholefield, in *The Dominion*, 22 Jan, 1910.
[22] Nelle Scanlan to Alan Mulgan, 9 Dec 1959, Mulgan papers, MS Papers 0224-11, *ATL*. The 1959 sales figure for *Pencarrow* was 30,700, and it was still selling.
[23] McLeod, Aorewa, "Escott, Cicely Margaret 1908 – 1977", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)*, http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/ (updated 22 June 2007).

their native son and his work".[24] Winifred Tennant wrote to Pat Lawlor in 1936, "Did you ever see Hector Bolitho's pamphlet with English comment and New Zealand criticisms on his books? They were printed in black and green inks, and the English opinions made much pleasanter reading than the New Zealand gibes at a successful countryman".[25] In "The Heckling of Hector" Lawlor wrote that "Hector was hurt very deeply over the unkind and unjust criticisms hurled at him by the press of his own country, but, in the security of the fame he has won abroad, he can smile".[26]

In reality the writers were probably subjected to this because New Zealanders disliked their communities being portrayed in a light that they did not endorse. The themes addressed could result in extreme criticism or even censorship, and this was likely to happen in any small community. Jane Mander's *Story of a New Zealand River* is a reasonably frank portrait of Northland society and of the illogicality of allowing people to be trapped in unhappy marriages. New Zealand critics responded to the book by labelling it as sex obsessed, a criticism that was "hurled at her from all sides," while in America and England only one reviewer drew this conclusion.[27] In New Zealand literary legend, the book suffered the fate of being placed on the "discretionary shelf" at the Whangarei Public Library.[28] Dan Davin's *Cliffs of Fall* "won for Davin a modest but solid reputation in Britain and the USA. In New Zealand its reception was more mixed".[29] The novel was received in Britain as "a bold attempt at an immensely difficult subject". In New Zealand, predictably, "it was read as a startling and uncomfortable revelation of scandalous goings-on in a respectable

[24] Isabel Cluett (Peacocke), "Hector Bolitho – An Outspoken Criticism", *All About Books*, June 18 1929, p. 221.
[25] Tennant to Lawlor, April 28 1936, 77-067 5/2, *ATL*.
[26] Lawlor, "The Heckling of Hector", c1929, 77-067 1/5, *ATL*.
[27] Ethel Wilson, "Talk – on Mander", 1939, Mander papers, MS Papers 3404, *ATL*.
[28] Rae McGregor, *The Story of a New Zealand Writer: Jane Mander* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1998), p. 74.
[29] James Bertram, *Dan Davin* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 3-4.

Presbyterian city".[30] Jean Devanny's *The Butcher Shop* was banned in New Zealand, officially because its frank portrayal of life on a sheep farm had the potential to do harm to immigration. The book also, however, showed the consequences of repression: the previously virtuous farmer's wife in *The Butcher Shop* ends up slitting her lover's throat.[31] James Courage expected his depiction of Christchurch in *The Fifth Child* to create a scandal, "Especially after a number of not-quite-impartial N.Z. critics have had slaps at it in their weekly rags".[32] These bad reviews never actually eventuated, probably because Christchurch is well disguised in his books.

This unwillingness to accept candid description of their own society often led reviewers to be overly strenuous in their criticism of small inaccuracies. Cluett's explanation for the unpopularity of Bolitho's books in New Zealand was that his writings on New Zealand were jarring to the native ear because of "a host of … small, but significant, inaccuracies which, to a reader with a knowledge of New Zealand, are irritating and distasteful, giving an altogether false impression of the country".[33] In the case of Jean Devanny, Cluett again was the reviewer. She wrote of Devanny: "*Bushman Burke* may be said to be a riotous "saga of sex" ... although her stories all have a New Zealand background, and her descriptive scenes ring true enough, the dramas she unfolds have very small relation to New Zealand life, its conditions and traditions".[34] It is more likely that it was the themes Devanny addressed and their being associated with New Zealand communities that reviewers found jarring, as well as being sensitive about the nuances of the societies being represented.

---

[30] Bertram (1983), p. 11.
[31] Jean Devanny, *The Butcher Shop* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1981, first published 1926), p. 224.
[32] James Courage to Brasch, 14 Dec 1947, Brasch papers, MS Papers 996-3/220, *Hocken Library (HL)*, Dunedin.
[33] Isabel Cluett, "Hector Bolitho–An Outspoken Criticism", *All About Books*, June 18 1929, p. 221.
[34] Isabel Cluett, "Exodus of New Zealand Writers", *All About Books*, 17 June 1930, p. 164.

This lack of appreciation of local authors may also have resulted from a New Zealand version of what A. A. Phillips described in 1950 as the "cultural cringe".[35] This is the inferiority complex that Australian intellectuals felt when comparing their compatriots' work with that of their British and European counterparts. It may have meant that New Zealand writers had to work much harder to be accepted in New Zealand than non-New Zealanders did, especially if their writing was about New Zealand. New Zealanders struggled to accept their immediate surroundings as subject matter for high-brow art. A reviewer of the play *Rose Lane* in the Dunedin *Evening Star* in 1936 commented that the audience laughed when a character mentioned going to find a job in Invercargill. He said: "The mere mention of Invercargill shatters, for a moment, all the illusion of drama".[36] Alan Mulgan suggests that New Zealanders were not interested in reading about local themes, such as gumdigging in Auckland. They were more likely to want to read about other places: "Romance was something that came from the African spaces or the Hudson Bay Territory, not from the other side of one's own hills".[37]

It is tempting to conclude that this somewhat negative local response to their writing prompted some New Zealand writers to expatriate themselves. However, all the writers mentioned here were already based outside New Zealand when the hostile reviews appeared. This not only indicates that overseas success did not necessarily enhance local renown, but it also illuminates the attitude of New Zealanders to those classed as "expatriates". There was perhaps an element of parochial jealousy in the attitude of some to the "big-shots" who went overseas. In 1940, the Dunedin journalist David W. M. Burn suggested a "Centennial survey on expatriates doing well

---

[35] A. A. Phillips, "The Cultural Cringe", *Meanjin*, 4 (1950), p. 300.
[36] W.F. Alexander, review of *Rose Lane* (play), Dunedin *Evening Star* , 2 May, 1936, in Heather Murray, "Celebrating Our Writers: 1936, 1951", *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 10 (1992), p.105.
[37] Alan Mulgan, Mulgan papers, *ATL*, in Phillip Wilson, *William Satchell* (New York: Twayne Publishing, 1968), p. 41.

overseas". Apparently the Editorial Committee "rejected the suggestion for fear that it would 'excite jealousies' and 'degenerate into a catalogue of undistinguished names'".[38]

The historiography of New Zealand literary "exile" is dominated by an assumption in the term itself: there was something "wrong" with New Zealand that drove its brightest literary talents to leave the country. However, none of the attempts to identify specific reasons for exile in fact make sense. Writers did not have to leave to gain literary respect, to avoid hostile local critics, to escape a cloistering colonial *gemeinschaft*, to find liberation from a literary culture that made "authentic" writing impossible, to find a publishing infrastructure that would turn their manuscripts into print, or for any other reason. Nevertheless, the idea of forced expatriation for our brightest intellectuals and most talented people (including writers) is ingrained in New Zealand's intellectual culture and accepted with very little interrogation. For example, the unchallenged Wikipedia page on "Culture of New Zealand" states that "New Zealand's most successful early writers were expatriates such as Katherine Mansfield".[39] The page expresses a popular belief that is also a staple of literary historiography, echoed by critics like Lawrence Jones who acknowledges for talented writers only the options of "silence or expatriation".[40] Unlike most assumptions made in the course of the search for national identity in New Zealand history, this one has not been investigated for its accuracy. The fact that no explanations of expatriation and exile examined above stand up to interrogation proves there is a need for further

[38] Burn to Peter Fraser, 7 Sept 1937, Internal Affairs 1, 62/8; Oliver Duff to Joseph Heenan, 23 March 1938, Internal Affairs 1, 62/8/1, in Chris Hilliard, "Island Stories", MA Thesis (University of Auckland, 1997), p. 66.
[39] "Culture of New Zealand", *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Culture_of_New_Zealand (accessed 9 March 2011).
[40] Lawrence Jones, "The Novel", in Sturm (ed.), *OHNZL*, p. 123.

investigation. “Expatriation” is, in fact, an inappropriate description of the movements of most New Zealand writers.

3.2 Reality

The idea of a New Zealand literary exile inspiring expatriation is often traced back to Eric McCormick. Beginning with William Pember Reeves, McCormick wrote of the lure of foreign lands: in 1896 “Reeves had left for England, thus choosing his ‘way’ which was, generally speaking, to be the way for the next thirty years in both art and in letters”.[41] In McCormick’s account, Reeves was joined by Alan Mulgan and Katherine Mansfield. According to James Smithies, McCormick’s implication was that “the trip ‘Home’ was taken by any writer who could afford it in order to avoid the loss of cultured society on the periphery of empire”.[42] McCormick was not alone in thinking that the exiled expatriate was the archetypical version of the New Zealand writer. Monte Holcroft echoed this sentiment when he wrote that talented New Zealand writers were compelled to “escape” from an “unpromising environment”.[43] These assumptions continued to resonate throughout the rest of the twentieth century, with Riemke Ensing speaking in 1974 of the “exile theme which had dominated New Zealand literature since the thirties”.[44]

However, it is when the motivations of individuals are considered that this model of writers “exiled” in New Zealand and forced to travel to the location of culture falls apart. The beleaguered exile was not typical at all. The examples chosen

---

[41] McCormick (1940), p. 105.
[42] James Smithies, “Modernism or Exile? E. H. McCormick and *Letters and Art in New Zealand*”, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 39:3 (2004), p. 101.
[43] Monte Holcroft, “A Professional Expatriate”, in Ray Knox (ed.), *New Zealand’s Heritage* (Wellington: Paul Hamlyn, 1971-1973), p. 2210.
[44] Sandra Coney, “Riemke Ensing on Women Writers”, *Broadsheet*, 22 (1974), p. 12.

by McCormick (Reeves, Mulgan and Mansfield) demonstrate this point exactly. These three writers could not have been more different in terms of their individual career trajectories, preoccupations and motivations. Reeves was primarily a politician and left New Zealand because he had been appointed as Agent-General for New Zealand in the United Kingdom. His departure had nothing to do with literary exile. Mulgan, a self-confessed Anglophile, travelled to England in 1926 on a cultural sight-seeing mission. His visit was in no sense a literary exile and it was his only foray out of the country. Both before and after his trip, he was heavily involved with the business of creating New Zealand literature and was always an effective intermediary in the colonial writing world. Mansfield, on the other hand, was uninterested in colonial culture. She was not involved in any New Zealand literary projects and sailed for England intent on leaving everything related to her home country far behind, in particular her parents.[45] She is usually taken as the archetype of a New Zealand literary expatriate, and yet she is in many ways an anomaly amongst New Zealand writers. The three writers lumped together by McCormick are similar only in that they happened to have been born in the same country.

The definition of the verb form of the word "expatriate" is "to withdraw from one's native country",[46] and this describes the actions of only a fraction of New Zealand writers. Most writers returned, and between 1890 and 1945 only 24 left and never came back out of the 118 found in the list of "prominent" writers. This list appears as Appendix B and comprises biographical information concerning the movements of writers. The writers are categorised as: those who never left New Zealand (S); those who left only for trips lasting for a year or less (Tr); those who left

[45] Mansfield's disgust with her parents is documented in Anthony Alper's biography. Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 41. In general her attitude was one of wishing to be no longer under their stifling jurisdiction.
[46] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, http://dictionary.oed.com (2010).

for a longer trip but returned permanently to New Zealand (R); those who left, came back and then went back overseas permanently (B); and those who left and never came back (L). This information is summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 - The movements of New Zealand writers 1890-1945

S	Tr	R	B	L
53	10	23	8	24

As the table shows, 53 writers stayed in New Zealand (though a few left in the years after 1945), 33 left then returned permanently after periods of varying length, and only the 32 in the last two categories died overseas. Table 3.2 shows the main overseas journey undertaken by the "prominent" writers who left New Zealand between 1890 and 1945, the length of the trip and the destination.

Table 3.2 - Writers who left New Zealand 1890-1945

Length of trip and destination

Destination	1 year or less	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	20+ years
UK	7	8	9	2	16
Europe	2	2	1	1	0
Australia	0	3	2	2	5
United States	1	0	0	1	1
Other	0	1	1	0	0

The majority of people visited the United Kingdom, and the length of time spent there varied. Although not nearly as many writers left New Zealand for long periods as has been commonly assumed, there remained some who did. These migrations need to be looked at systematically as, contrary to popular opinion, only a small number of writers left for literary and intellectual reasons.

Analysis of the reasons that writers left New Zealand reveals that only a few left because there were not enough opportunities for writers. The urge to travel and see the world was as common as in the present day, and writers who spent some time abroad for this reason should not be included in examples of expatriatism. Because Alan Mulgan's visit to England was, he said, the inevitable result of a youth spent absorbing English literature which led him to "fix [his] thoughts ever on England",[47] it has been alleged that he shared this compulsion towards expatriation. The truth is that he had long wished to see the places immortalised in literature, and this wish was satisfied by a relatively short visit. Mulgan did not wish go to live in England; his vision was historical and nostalgic, and he had no desire to engage with the modern realities of the country, managing to find "something fitting and beautiful" even in the streaks of dirt on the public buildings.[48] Mulgan's journey overseas puts him in the group of 10 whose trips were sightseeing purposes and lasted for a year or less. This category includes Jessie Mackay who visited Ireland and England and was a delegate to the Gael Race Conference in Paris in 1921. Anne Glenny Wilson travelled to Britain in 1897 and was able to view the work of William Morris. Isabel Peacocke spent a year in Europe in her early twenties. All of these authors remained in New Zealand except for these brief forays overseas.

For those not New Zealand-born, it was common to make trips back to their homelands, to visit relatives, or (like W. H. Guthrie Smith) to get married. John Macmillan Brown (historian and writer of utopian fantasy novels), himself an immigrant from Scotland, visited England in 1884 where he was offered the prestigious position of the new chair in English literature at Merton College, Oxford. He declined, preferring to return to New Zealand. Those commenting on New

[47] McCormick (1940), p. 131.
[48] Alan Mulgan, *Home: A New Zealander's Adventure* (London: Longmans, Green, 1927), p. 48.

Zealand's high rate of expatriatism often do not differentiate between genuine expatriates and those people who left New Zealand with the intention of travelling then returning.

For middle-class New Zealanders at this time it was not unusual to visit England. James Courage, for example, is generally said to have been tortured by tension between home and abroad. Yet he came from a family that was part of the "colonial" gentry in Canterbury, "was used to having relations come and go from England and was brought up, like many of his generation, to think of England as 'Home'".[49] His family members were mostly Oxford-educated, so being sent to Oxford for his further education was not a large cognitive leap for him. He stayed on in England after this, but did not necessarily have the intention to become an expatriate before he left New Zealand.

A nationalist approach to history can lead to misinterpretation of the natural patterns of global migration and movement that occurred. In contrast, the model of the colonial writing world by necessity embraces a transnational approach and accommodates these patterns easily. It can accommodate personal motives with no relevance to incipient nationalism or "exile", and it can acknowledge the impact of international events. As Denis McLean says, in a review of James McNeish's *Dance of the Peacocks*, "New Zealand is not a place apart, from which we view the global traumas at a comfortable distance. The whole country passed through the fires of the fights against fascism and communism".[50] Despite being very far away from the powerhouses of Europe, through its ever-active colonial links New Zealand was affected by global transitions and involved in world events.

---

[49] John Lee, "'A Private History': Towards a Biography of James Courage, Expatriate New Zealand Writer", MA Thesis (Victoria University, 2001), p. 11.
[50] Denis McLean, Review of Dance of the Peacocks, *New Zealand International Review*, 29 (2004).

One very important example of this is, of course, war. Over 240,000 New Zealanders travelled to Europe because they were serving with the armed forces in World War I and World War II. This was the primary reason some writers went, not because they were frustrated with New Zealand and its lack of literary nourishment. In World War I John A. Lee served in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force from 1916. He appears to have otherwise had no intention of leaving New Zealand. The call to arms was a very common reason for going to Europe, for men certainly, but also for women. Dora Wilcox travelled to England "for war work during World War I".[51] She was also there in 1905, so she obviously made two trips.

Still more writers made the journey during World War II, including Denis Glover. Glover initially was a pacifist, but upon noticing all his friends objecting to the war he "looped the loop" (in the words of his friend John Drew) and said "well, someone's got to go to this war".[52] While on leave in London he met with Charles Brasch and was introduced to "Cecil Day Lewis, Stephen Spender and other important men of letters" by John Lehmann. He returned "reluctantly" to New Zealand. [53] Eric McCormick himself served with the 5th Reinforcements as a medical orderly, before being appointed assistant to the army archivist in Egypt. The politics of war had effects as well. Basil Dowling, for example, was imprisoned for expressing his pacifist views and his expatriation came soon after his release, when he left New Zealand in disgust.

New Zealanders were not immune to the lure of such prestigious academic institutions as the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London. A number of writers initially left New Zealand with the sole motive of studying in one of these

[51] Harvey McQueen and Roger Robinson, "Wilcox, Dora", in Robinson and Wattie (eds.), in Robinson and Wattie (eds.), *OCNZL*, p. 588.
[52] John Drew interview, 17 Sept 1995, in Gordon Ogilvie, *Denis Glover: His Life* (Auckland: Godwit, 1999), p. 127.
[53] Gordon Ogilvie, "Glover, Denis James Matthews 1912 – 1980", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).

places. Again, this did not equate to a rejection of their country of origin, for within the colonial world it was common for young men to be sent to England to further their education. England had long-established and prestigious institutions that could assist a subsequent career back in New Zealand. Dan Davin attended Balliol College, Oxford, on a Rhodes Scholarship and read "Greats".[54] John Mulgan also made the journey to England to attend Oxford (Merton), though he had just missed out on a Rhodes. He was offered a job at the Clarendon Press before he had even received notice of his "first" in English. James Courage received a second class BA from St John's, Oxford, in 1927, the year that Charles Brasch started at the same college. J. C. Beaglehole, a historian who also wrote poetry, travelled to the University of London on the strength of a postgraduate scholarship. D'Arcy Cresswell initially went to London to study at the Architectural Association. Jane Mander's final impetus to leave New Zealand came from her decision to enrol in the new School of Journalism at Columbia University in New York.

The decision to study overseas was sometimes not the writer's own, and some did not want to go. According to James McNeish, Charles Brasch was one of these: "Brasch who had been shipped off to Oxford as a schoolboy had at first been miserable in England. He had grown to love it…".[55] Bill Pearson had no particular desire to leave the country and won a scholarship only because Canterbury University College had put his name forward to go to England, unbeknownst to him. He himself felt "'tremendously ambivalent' to such a move".[56] Leaving New Zealand was clearly not always the result of frustration at the lack of local opportunities.

Many writers were also journalists, members of a profession that enabled movement throughout the English-speaking world to follow stories and gain

[54] Literae Humaniores: an undergraduate course focussed on Classics.
[55] James McNeish, *Dance of the Peacocks* (Auckland: Vintage, 2003), p. 38.
[56] Paul Millar, *No Fretful Sleeper* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), p. 163 and 167.

experience. Because larger countries offered more opportunities as well as the excitement of foreign shores, several writers left New Zealand to pursue their careers. Most of them went to Australia, as there was no need to go as far as London. They usually travelled about within the colonial writing world rather than leaving permanently and becoming genuine, long-term "expatriates". Writers who fell into this category included Pat Lawlor, Douglas Stewart and David McKee Wright. When Nelle Scanlan first travelled to the United States to attend the Limitation of Arms conference in Washington DC, she went as a journalist, and she was the only woman reporter present.[57] It was in her capacity as a journalist that she travelled the world, and her very successful career as a novelist was just a lucrative side-line. Eric Baume, writer of the "melodramatic romance novel" *Half-Caste*, left New Zealand to advance his career as a journalist, reporting on the war in London and then returning to Australia.[58] Hector Bolitho, famed expatriate, was first and foremost a journalist and then a royal biographer.

For those of a more *avant-garde* literary persuasion, the small population of New Zealand (about 1,150,000 at the end of 1918[59]) made it difficult to find a cohesive group of people interested in providing an alternative to mainstream lifestyles and culture. Like-minded people were not numerous enough to form the self-sustaining subcultures that could be found in larger cities elsewhere. A.A. Phillips wrote in 1950 of Australia:

> I do not know if our cultural crust is proportionately any thinner than that of other Anglo-Saxon communities; but to the intellectual it seems thinner because, in a small community, there is not enough of it to provide for the individual a protective insulation.[60]

---

[57] Terry Sturm, "Scanlan, Ellen Margaret 1882 – 1968", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).
[58] Janet McCallum and Paul Millar, "Baume, Eric", in Robinson and Wattie (eds.), *OCNZL*, p. 44.
[59] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "New Zealand in 1918" , *New Zealand History Online*, www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/armistice/nz-in-1918 (updated 19 Nov 2008).
[60] A. A. Phillips, p. 300.

The "cultural crust" in large Australian cities may have been thinner than in London, but by the late nineteenth century it undeniably existed. In New Zealand, however, the situation was more critical, and those wishing to experiment with innovative ideas were unlikely to find a large group of sympathetic people ready to discuss them. To some extent this problem was addressed by correspondence with other people throughout Australasia, but undeniably there was a greater concentration of intellectual company somewhere like London. In larger cities, like London, Sydney and Melbourne, fringe cultures also developed that allowed people to escape the status quo. In London, people were numerous enough and anonymous enough for out-of-the-ordinary opinions to escape criticism, most of the time. Similarly in Sydney there was a bohemian subculture that Dulcie Deamer embraced then conquered when she left New Zealand, becoming the "Queen of Bohemia". Described by Caroline Daley as an "expatriate nudist",[61] Deamer mixed with "starving artists, poor musicians, writers scratching for a living, bit actors, and people with all sorts of strange jobs".[62] Sydney's Bohemia had clubs, societies and networks, but nothing like this existed in New Zealand at the time.

Mainstream culture in New Zealand was, by most accounts, rigid and conformist. In public, people had to abide by respectable models of behaviour or face ostracism. This state of society resulted from a backlash against frontier unruliness. The suffrage movement gained strong and early support from respectable politicians because they hoped that women's votes would temper the wild nature of early settler society. Although the advancement of women was progressive, then, the successful nineteenth-century suffrage campaign was in one sense a conservative victory. The

---

[61] Caroline Daley, "Indecent Exposure?", *Leisure and Pleasure: Reshaping and Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), p. 171.
[62] Martha Rutledge, "Deamer, Mary Elizabeth Kathleen Dulcie (1890 - 1972)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A080276b.htm (2006).

ideology behind the winning of the vote in 1893 "had a strangling effect on the expansion of women's role in New Zealand society" because it reinforced the traditional role of women.[63] The victory of the suffrage movement with its strong links to the temperance and social purity movements turned New Zealand into a puritanical monoculture.[64] This puritanism was a "secularised pattern of feeling and conduct developing from the Victorian lower-middle-class evangelical morality" according to Lawrence Jones, who believed it was brought by "settlers in the second half of the nineteenth century".[65] It involved a very strict social code, and to transgress it was unacceptable. Frank Sargeson's mother summed it up, with her insistence that "you should do the right thing because of what people would say or think if you didn't".[66] There was little room for alternatives in New Zealand society, with its sexual repression and a "sharp fear of and disapproval of homosexuality".[67]

The desire to escape this inflexible society was strongly felt by a good many New Zealand writers. The plight of the beleaguered exile oppressed by puritans became a literary trope. An example of this appears in Jane Mander's semi-autobiographical *The Story of a New Zealand River*, where the character of Asia reflects Mander's own preoccupations. Asia wants to embrace modern ideas but is trapped in a society indifferent to such notions and dominated by Victorian puritanism. Mander criticised New Zealand's puritan monoculture, as well as its preoccupation with material gain and its stifling conformity. In her later novel, *The Passionate Puritan* (1922), the residents of a Northland timber-milling settlement live in a line of houses all decorated identically with the "accepted white bed quilt and

[63] Raewyn Dalziel, "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 11:2 (1977), p. 123.
[64] Patrick Evans, *The Long Forgetting* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2007), p. 17.
[65] Lawrence Jones, "Puritanism", in Robinson and Wattie (eds.), *OCNZL*, p. 455.
[66] Frank Sargeson autobiography, in Jones, "Puritanism", *OCNZL*, p. 455.
[67] Lawrence Jones, "Puritanism", *OCNZL*, p. 455.

white lace curtains".[68] Deviations were not tolerated. Mander was not alone in her dissatisfaction, Rex Fairburn melodramatically expressed a similar discontent with Auckland, describing it as "an intellectual rat-hole", and a "spiritual cesspool".[69] His attitude was in turn influenced by correspondence with his friend and literary mentor, Geoffrey de Montalk, who wrote as he travelled to Britain: "It's a good feeling, leaving cursed New Zealand four hundred miles further behind every day! Try it!"[70]

The plight of these tortured intellectuals has often been romanticised and exaggerated, while in reality their motivations for leaving were in no sense literary. Rex Fairburn, for example, exhibited the common tendency of young people to want more exciting, glamorous lives in foreign lands. He was also finding it impossible to find employment, and he wrote to Montalk in 1927: "I couldn't get a job as a collector of night-soil in Freeman's Bay if I offered to do it for threepence a week. I have several times lately seriously contemplated stowing away on a boat to England. I'd probably starve when I got there though".[71] He was also miserable about a recent ill-fated dalliance with a woman. He wrote to Mason in 1930 of his depressed state, saying "I must leave New Zealand"[72] and revealing that he was "contemplating simultaneously a desperate marriage to a girl who could only be a disaster for him, and escape to Europe or America".[73] Geoffrey de Montalk received a court order in 1927 instructing him to return to his wife and small child whom he was charged with abandoning. Not long after, however, he "filed for divorce and left for Auckland in order to make arrangements to flee the country's 'suffocating philistinism'".[74] His

[68] Jane Mander, *The Passionate Puritan* (London: Lane, 1922), p. 42.
[69] Fairburn to Montalk, 5 July 1927, Letters from Rex Fairburn, MS Papers 2461/3, *ATL*.
[70] de Montalk to R. A. K. Mason, 27 Dec 1927, Mason papers, MS Papers 592/11, *Hocken Library (HL)*, Dunedin.
[71] Fairburn to Montalk, 13 June 1927, MS Papers 2461/3, *ATL*.
[72] Fairburn to Mason, 18 March 1930, MS 592/19, *HL*.
[73] Denys Trussell, *Fairburn* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1984), p. 80.
[74] Stephanie de Montalk, *Unquiet World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), p. 98.

book *Wild Oats* was favourably reviewed by Ian Donnelly but then ran into trouble with the country's dominant puritanism when it was "rejected by the literary editor of one of the big dailies [Alan Mulgan], [who refused] a review because the author was in the process of dissolving his marriage".[75]

Other writers left for family reasons or because of difficult relationships. Aorewa McLeod suggests that some writers chose to leave New Zealand in order to escape from domestic duties that prevented them from having enough time to write. In the case of Jane Mander, her primary example, the motive was to get away from frustrating domestic duties and parental control. Mander may have been prevented from writing in New Zealand by having to housekeep for her father and may have initially been driven from the country because of this.[76] Edith Searle Grossmann decided to travel extensively after the breakdown of her marriage. Her husband, Joseph Grossmann, had become embroiled in scandal and fraud allegations at Auckland University. She also wanted to seek treatment for her son, Arthur, who suffered from a mental disability, the details of which are not clear.[77] Her unhappy home-life was the catalyst for her departure, though she did express a dislike of the colony's ways. Louisa Baker was also unhappily married and moved first to Dunedin and then overseas because of this.[78]

For some, this dissatisfaction went deeper. For those whose natural tendencies fell outside the moral code, life in New Zealand could be difficult. Roles for men and women were clearly defined, and women had to choose between being a wife and mother, or being a quiet spinster. Robin Hyde fell outside these categories and led a

---

[75] *Literature and the Arts, New Zealand* (University of California Press, 1947), in Stephanie de Montalk, p. 95.
[76] McLeod, p. 68.
[77] Rebecca Burns, "Snapshot of a Life Reassessed: Edith Searle Grossmann", *Kōtare: New Zealand Notes and Queries* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2009).
[78] Moffat, "Louisa Alice Baker", *Kotāre 2008*.

troubled life as a result, failing, according to Derek Challis, "to find a niche in which to secure and sustain her nature and talents".[79] She was a single mother, her child born out of wedlock, and she had to work for various papers to earn money, which "absorbed the energy and time that might have gone into more meaningful work".[80] She wrote: "I seem to dry up and become hard and metallic whenever I make a reasonable effort at working for a living. Tropic island and banana trees for one, please".[81] Her first child died and she regretted bitterly that "society's narrow conventions and lack of sensitivity decreed that she should deny his ever having lived". She found life very difficult in New Zealand, and this was probably the reason she left, though life overseas was no easier.

There is evidence that marriage made it difficult for women to be writers, and that because of this women writers were less likely to get married. Marital information is available for 94 of the "prominent" writers, 37 women and 57 men. Of the men, 49 out of 57 (86 per cent) were married at some point, as compared to only 54 per cent of the women. Five of the men were known to be homosexual (including D'Arcy Cresswell who was also married) and only four heterosexual men remained unmarried. According to the 1936 census, 69.65 per cent of adult males were married, and 75.72 per cent of adult females.[82] These figures include divorced and widowed people (everyone except the "never married"). When writers are compared to the national averages, the rate of marriage is considerably less for women, more for men, leading to the conclusion that marriage and writing were less easily combined for women than for men because wives were expected to engage in the full-time job of

[79] Derek Challis and Gloria Rawlinson, *The Book of Iris* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), p. 147.
[80] Challis, p. 147.
[81] Robin Hyde to John Schroder, 23 Oct 1928, in Challis, p. 121.
[82] New Zealand Department of Censuses and Statistics, *General Report, Population Census* (Wellington: Department of Censuses and Statistics, 1936).

supporting their husbands' careers, keeping house and raising children. 298 books were published by 118 women between 1890 and 1945 as compared with 418 books by 212 men.[83] Many of the more well-known women writers of this time remained single, including Ursula Bethell, Edith Lyttleton, Jane Mander, Ngaio Marsh, Rosemary Rees, Robin Hyde, Eileen Duggan, Blanche Baughan and Jessie Mackay.

Particularly problematic at this time in New Zealand was the public's attitude to homosexuality. For gay men like Frank Sargeson, growing up in a small city like Hamilton was challenging. Though homosexuality was also illegal in England, many of the leading figures of the writing world were gay, and many found it easy to move in circles that took homosexuality for granted. This was not the case in New Zealand. D'Arcy Cresswell left the country soon after he was involved in an entrapment and blackmail scandal with the mayor of Whanganui, resulting in Cresswell being shot by the mayor.[84] Hector Bolitho, James Courage and Charles Brasch may also have been inspired to leave the country in the hope of greater sexual freedom overseas. Geoffrey de Montalk, though there is some uncertainty with regards to his sexuality, was unimpressed with the close-mindedness of New Zealand society, where he was expected to be a dutiful husband. He wanted to go to Europe, where he thought he would be able to embrace his more unconventional tendencies.[85]

The "strictures of society" did inspire some people to go overseas, but this is often wrongly confused with literary reasons for leaving. The two are entirely separate issues. The narrowness of mainstream society was not, as such, hostile either to literary creativity or the life of the mind. It is commonly assumed that puritanism stifled creativity. In fact, it could *inspire* creativity, and the results could be published overseas thanks to the colonial writing world. This was not restricted to people

[83] Plus two writers using pseudonyms whose gender is not known.
[84] W. S. Broughton, "Cresswell, Walter D'Arcy – Biography", *DNZB* (updated 1 Sep 2010).
[85] Stephanie de Montalk, pp.97-8.

reacting against puritanism either, as Kirstine Moffat lists some 28 authors who wrote literature before 1940 that showed puritanism in a "predominately positive light".[86] Plenty of other writers were inspired to write by the urge to react against puritanism as well, including Jane Mander, Hector Bolitho and Frank Sargeson (Moffat lists 12 particularly significant authors).

While New Zealand's cultural and social limitations are often blamed for writers leaving, the more common, mundane reasons that many left are often ignored entirely. This is erroneous, as in reality most who left were motivated by more everyday considerations. This is largely because the existence of the colonial writing world meant that they were not really in a state of literary exile. Even if their reason for leaving was related to the moral and intellectual restrictions of New Zealand, this was not the same as experiencing a literary exile where they were prevented from writing by these things. Following is a table which shows the reasons that writers left New Zealand between 1890 and 1945. The "intellectual/social constraints" category includes those who were dissatisfied with the narrowness of society as opposed to those who left because they were going to pursue a writing career that they believed was not possible in New Zealand.

Of the 118 "prominent" writers, 55 left the country at some point or other for two years or more. David McClelland and H. B. Marriott-Watson left no obvious clues as to why they left the country. For the remaining 53 writers, Table 3.3 shows the reasons they left New Zealand. The first column ("Main factors") includes only what has been deemed the "main" reason for the writer's departure, from the information available. The second column ("All factors") contains multiple

[86] Kirstine Moffat, "The Puritan Paradox, Part 1", *Kotāre*, 3:1 (2000), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi031Kota-t1-g1-t5.html .

appearances of individual authors, as where there were multiple reasons for leaving, each has been counted.

Table 3.3 - New Zealand writers 1890-1945:
Reasons for leaving New Zealand for more than two years

Reason for leaving	Main factor	All factors
Writing career	10	22
Intellectual/social constraints	2	9
Journalism career	12	13
Family/health	6	9
Study	10	12
Work (not writing related)	9	11
War service	4	4

This information was gathered from wherever available: the *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, individual biographies, internet sources and the literary papers of authors in various archives.

The table shows that both intellectual or social considerations and the specific desire to further a writing career were often a secondary concern, and that they were less often the *main* reason for going overseas. Only in 10 cases did writers leave New Zealand with pursuing a writing career overseas as their main intention. Leaving New Zealand because one could not be a writer in New Zealand was supposed to be the norm, but this is thrown into doubt. Frank Anthony was one person who decided to try his luck in London on the strength of his moderate literary success in New Zealand. Monte Holcroft went for similar reasons, though he had had very little

success. Intellectual or social constraints were the main factors in only two cases, and the background reason in a few more.

Not surprisingly, the table shows a spread of reasons that were not related to one thing in particular. While writers did go to England with the goal of furthering their writing careers, it was unusual for this to be the only reason. Commonplace motives were often more important. Edith Lyttleton left for England having already published several books, and her main reason for going was to accompany her family. Jean Devanny may have had more access to communist circles in Australia, but the primary reason she moved there was her son Karl's weak heart, which they believed would fare better in a warmer climate.[87]

Most writers who left New Zealand for a time were not doing it with the intention of forsaking New Zealand and becoming "expatriates". Many made several trips to different parts of the colonial writing world, and they often returned to New Zealand. As is the case now, there was a lot of movement within the colonial world as people temporarily relocated themselves for different reasons. It was rare for a writer to leave New Zealand and never come back. Thus, being "expatriated" was not the process that the majority of the writers who left New Zealand between 1890 and 1945 were involved with. In fact, both the writers who intended to become expatriates and those who ended up becoming expatriates are in the small minority. Going from New Zealand to the United Kingdom was an easy concept to come to terms with, as the links still remained. In Courage's *The Call Home*, the protagonist's grandmother says: "we have none of us lost the link with England. That's why it was so easy, you see,

[87] Heather Roberts, "Devanny, Jean – Biography", *DNZB* (updated 1 Sep 2010).

for you to go to London to study medicine—your journey was like a kind of return journey for us—your father and me – in a newer generation".[88]

[88] James Courage, *The Call Home* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1956), p. 72.

PART TWO: LITERARY EXILES? NEW ZEALANDERS IN LONDON

Chapter Four: "A book is a book, all the world over"

4.1 Failure or exile?

If writers left New Zealand expecting their luck to change suddenly then they were inevitably disappointed. Newly arrived in London in 1929, hopeful novelist Monte Holcroft had come from New Zealand to "try for a foothold" amongst the literary greats. It was not to be a simple undertaking, however. One can only imagine how disheartening it was for him to hear from Jane Mander, soon after stepping off the boat, that he ought to go immediately back to New Zealand while he still had the money to buy himself a ticket.[1] Life in literary London was not easy, and Holcroft soon learned that being there would not necessarily increase his chances of becoming a best-selling author.

Despite what the proponents of literary nationalism would have us believe, physical location is actually not very important for literary production. Writing is less affected by location than other artistic pursuits, so questions of expatriation do not bear much relevance. This is because of the portable nature of a writer's work, as Ngaio Marsh pointed out in her entry on "Expatriates" in the 1966 *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. She wrote:

> Writers are in a different class. A writer is the most solitary of craftsmen and the most self-contained. Whether, like James Courage, he works and publishes in England, or whether, like the best of our poets, he stays in New Zealand, his books appear and are read in both countries by people whom they are likely to please. Janet Frame lives in England and writes about New Zealand.[2]

---

[1] Monte Holcroft, *The Way of a Writer* (Whatamongo Bay, N.Z: Cape Catley, 1984), p. 118.
[2] Ngaio Marsh, "Expatriates", A. H. McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (1966), http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/expatriates/4.

Jane Mander echoed these sentiments in her novel *The Strange Attraction*, set in New Zealand:

> A book is a book, and a boat a boat, and a fire a fire all the world over. And then this business of being in the swim in London or Paris or New York is only another of the hypnotisms men succumb to to please themselves. It isn't as important to live in London as they think it is.[3]

The only reason that there is any concern about the physical location of authors is the adoption of nationalism as the driving force behind all cultural history worthy of notice. This has led to certain assumptions about the negative experiences of literary "exiles" in Britain. This concern disappears when we use the "colonial writing world" model.

Rather than coming to the realisation that location was not the key to success, Holcroft and other New Zealand writers tended to blame their frustrated expectations on the fact that they were New Zealanders. Partly to justify their own decisions to go to Britain, they sometimes assumed that "expatriate" writers had to become "writers in exile" if they were to have a chance of success. This assumption grew out of their mistaken belief that they were disadvantaged in New Zealand in the first place. It also gave them unrealistic expectations of success in Britain. Initial enthusiasm more often than not turned to disillusionment as they discovered that the London literary scene and London life in general were more challenging and less glamorous than they expected. Instead of acknowledging their unrealistic expectations or even their own failure to produce quality work, they tended to blame the attitude of the British to "outsiders". Some even came to the conclusion that the only two options were remaining as "outsiders" and failing, or losing their individuality and becoming exiles.

To some New Zealand literary imaginations, London in the early twentieth century represented a wealth of opportunities that were not available at home. They

[3] Jane Mander, *The Strange Attraction* (London: Bodley Head, 1923), p. 127.

described in vivid detail the short-comings of the land they were leaving behind, then projected antithetical virtues onto England. Geoffrey de Montalk told Rex Fairburn in 1927 that "poets are as badly treated in this land of white sausages and All Blacks as they are feted and laurelled and crowned in Merrie England".[4] The pages of Hector Bolitho's autobiography are filled with his hopes of escaping New Zealand. He complained of not having any like-minded friends with whom he could discuss his advanced literary tastes. When he went to Sydney, he wrote: "Sydney gave me the challenge, and friends with talent, that I had lacked in New Zealand".[5] He expected even more from England.

Writers sometimes had expectations that simply being in London would be a ticket to literary stardom. Whatever their motivations for going there, some writers arrived in the metropolis hopeful of fulfilling their literary aspirations and expecting to find a more sympathetic environment for their writerly lifestyles. De Montalk wrote in 1927, "I am going to London, with not more than £30 in my pocket, to try and conquer the world of letters, or die in the attempt".[6] Monte Holcroft too, spurred on by the myth of London's magical abilities to bring literary and intellectual fulfilment, headed off to London in 1929. He described himself as a "literary pilgrim, ready to worship at the older shrines, but with a screed or two of my own to sell by the way".[7] Rex Fairburn was initially thrilled to be in London as well. He described his initial exhilaration as "the exuberance of the colonial's 'discovery' of London".[8] Soon after his arrival, Hector Bolitho had tea with a New Zealand friend whose voice "already had an English chill", and was excited to learn that the friend had "spoken to G. K.

[4] Stephanie de Montalk, *Unquiet World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), p. 95.
[5] Hector Bolitho, *My Restless Years* (London: Parrish, 1962), p. 79.
[6] Stephanie de Montalk, p. 96.
[7] Monte Holcroft, "Who Travels Alone", *The Sun*, 8 March 1929.
[8] W. S. Broughton, *A. R. D. Fairburn* (Wellington: Reed, 1968), p. 8.

Chesterton on the telephone and had seen D. H. Lawrence eating a boiled egg at the Trocadero".[9] The literary world seemed within easy reach.

London in the early twentieth century did have a cornucopia of literary opportunities on offer, for those who knew how to take advantage of them. This was the result of a vast increase in demand for literary works during the nineteenth century through the creation of a "mass reading public". The spread of literacy and rising incomes created a large audience of potential readers, and literature was no longer confined to the privileged elite. Technological advances increased leisure time and decreased the price of book production. New technology (such as gas lighting and better public transport) meant that people had more time to read.[10] At the same time that popular demand was increasing, improved methods of printing and distribution were reducing the price of books, thus making them more readily available. A host of new publications sprouted up, including the 121 new literary magazines that appeared between 1837 and 1913.[11] A number of new publishing houses were founded in the latter decades of the nineteenth century by people like Duckworth, Hale, Hodder and Stoughton and Arthur H. Stockwell.

However, although there was a significant increase in opportunities for publishing in London, there was an equivalent rise in the number of writers trying to take advantage of this. Inexperienced writers also struggled to deal with the dense maze of publishers and agents and with competition from more established authors. So, the apparently vast prospects for writers were tempered by the reality of

---

[9] Bolitho (1962), p. 89.
[10] New liberal Charles Masterman spoke of the "boost to leisure time" (and time where the light was good enough for reading by) that the electric train and gas stove (and gas lighting) were. Lucy Masterman, *C. F. G. Masterman* (1968), p. 83, in Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1918* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 47. Waller mentions improved printing methods on pp. 47-8.
[11] Alvin Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines, V3: The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837-1913* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1983-1986), pp. 469-471.

complexity and competition, and hopeful arrivals from New Zealand found that they were very small fish in a very large pond. When Nelle Scanlan described the difficulties she faced in London, she said that "all the literary talent of the world seemed pooled in this great city".[12] The reality for most in this fiercely competitive environment was that publication was a struggle and that it was difficult to derive any sort of useful income from writing. Most writers remained what Edith Lyttleton described in the 1930s as "makeweights"—"lowly, ill-paid authors whose stories were used as 'fillers'"—as opposed to "'established' authors, much better paid, whose name would appear on the cover of the magazine, and in its publicity, and perhaps attract a comment on the editorial page".[13] Even Lyttleton struggled with this despite being an already successful author, having had two novels published by Andrew Melrose of London (before she left New Zealand) and a number of stories in prestigious international magazines.

The romantic grandeur of the England that New Zealanders grew up hearing about was rarely comparable to the reality they encountered. While initial impressions could be of a bustling city of delights, the realities of London soon hit those people brought up on their parents' rose-hued nostalgia. J.C. Beaglehole, upon arriving in London at the age of twenty-five, remarked:

> The journey from Tilbury to St. Pancras was pretty dirty on the whole, though at first there were a few fields & haystacks & churches that looked like the England of romance. But then we came to interminable lines of houses all built in the same way in big blocks or separately, which were uglier still. So a station or so farther on I nearly got out & came back home; but I decided I would see what St. Pancras was like anyhow. It was all smoke & uproar but having got so far I decided I would give London a go.[14]

---

[12] Nelle Scanlan, *Ambition's Harvest* (London: Jarrold, 1935), p. 225.
[13] Untitled transcript, 1935-8, Lyttleton family papers, paraphrased in Terry Sturm, *An Unsettled Spirit: the Life and Frontier Fiction of Edith Lyttleton (G. B. Lancaster)* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), p. 118.
[14] J. C. Beaglehole to his mother, 3-5 Oct 1926 , *New Zealand Electronic Text Centre* http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/metadata-tei-JCB-008.html.

Geoffrey de Montalk described this same journey from Tilbury, the port on the Thames where the steamships arrived, to St Pancras in the heart of London. He too was horrified by the sight of "all those miserable little houses between Tilbury and St Pancras, grey and all that".[15] London was usually a lot dirtier, bigger and more confusing than its pilgrims had imagined when envisaging their romantic introduction to a city filled with charming experiences and literary greats. The writers could only console themselves by turning their disappointment to literary advantage. In *The Sullen Bell*, for example, Dan Davin describes some New Zealanders in London as "ghosts, the people who having got Home after a lifetime's dream longed to be back at home and dreaming again".[16] The reality could rarely live up to the legend.

Writers who had entertained notions of quick success rapidly became disillusioned. Douglas Glass, expatriate New Zealand photographer, wrote to R. A. K. Mason in 1929: "life over here is a hell of a strain and a man is lucky if he ever gets any writing done. That is real creative work. I find it very depressing and may return to New Zealand after another year of it".[17] He went on to say: "most people who come here & write home to N.Z. or return after six months are too bloody selfish or stupid to tell the truth".[18] Rex Fairburn wrote to Mason in 1931: "I wish to the devil you could come over here. Except when I go to London I am just as much intellectually isolated as you are. More so, perhaps".[19] Frank Sargeson embarked on an ambitious reading programme in the British Library, but soon became overwhelmed by the task and the "intolerable weight of so much civilisation".[20] Arthur H. Adams went to London in 1902 to "make his name", and his initial fascination soon gave way to

---

[15] Stephanie de Montalk, p. 100.
[16] Dan Davin, *The Sullen Bell* (London: M. Joseph, 1956), p. 99.
[17] Douglas Glass to Mason, 11 April 1929, Mason papers, MS Papers 592/11, *Hocken Library (HL)*, Dunedin.
[18] Douglas Glass to Mason, 28 April 1930, MS Papers 592/11, *HL*.
[19] Fairburn to Mason, 22 Dec 1931, MS 592/020, *HL*.
[20] Frank Sargeson, *Sargeson* (Auckland: Penguin, 1981), p. 117.

unhappiness. In "Introduction: The Web" in his volume of poems *London Streets*, "the overall impression is of London as a web of 'Great Greyness' which has 'shrivelled and long sucked dry' Adams' 'alien heart'".[21]

The political atmosphere of London would have been a shock to someone used to living so far away from the happenings of Europe. Visitors in the 1930s found it a place heavy with a sense of impending doom, especially in the lead-up to World War II. Rex Fairburn's initial enthusiasm wore off and was replaced by disillusionment. He said that Europe felt like a "mortuary" and that the atmosphere in London was one of "utter and hopeless decadence".[22] In 1931 he wrote to Mason: "I have the feeling of being in a crumbling world".[23] In 1932 he continued: "Perhaps you don't see, out there in N.Z., away from Europe as you are, just what is happening. What is indisputably, unmistakeably, inevitably happening. We are ending".[24] Charles Brasch believed that it was only after World War II that James Courage was able to write effectively, once "the terrible constriction and oppressiveness of the 1930s, heavy with the growing threat of war, had been resolved. The relief, the release, were enormous".[25] James Bertram had a shift of perception during his time at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, according to James McNeish: "By 1935 Bertram's picture of England was shifting from the Wordsworthian picture he had imbibed at Waitaki, of a green and sunlit land, to one of a society that had so many things wrong with it that it was becoming rudderless internationally".[26]

---

[21] Kirstine Moffatt, "Arthur H. Adams", *Kotāre Special Issue - Essays in New Zealand Literary Biography Series Three: "The Early Poets"* (2008), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi073Kota-t1-g1-t10.html.
[22] Broughton, p. 9.
[23] Fairburn to Mason, 31 Aug 1931, MS Papers 592/20, *HL*.
[24] Fairburn to Mason, 2 March 1932, MS Papers, 592/20, *HL*.
[25] Charles Brasch, "Introduction", *Such Separate Creatures* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1973), pp. 10-11, in John Lee, "A Private History", MA Thesis (Victoria University, 2001), p. 70.
[26] James McNeish, *Dance of the Peacocks* (Auckland: Vintage, 2003), p. 78.

The reasons that so many people had left London in the first place to go and live in the colonies had not gone away either. Overcrowding and bad living conditions were common, and ways around them were only available to those with enough money. The lack of unpolluted air and sun, the crowding and the anxiety experienced living somewhere like London in the early twentieth century caused many health problems.[27] Arnold Wall, an emigrant to New Zealand from England was surprised to be homesick for such an unlovely place, expressing astonishment that his "tough Colonial heart should turn / To London; to the sour, revengeful town, / Whose smoke, whose smells and vapours all her own, / Drove me, a willing exile, from her arms".[28] David Lynn, a New Zealander who went to London, described it in realistic terms in his novella *Love and Hunger*: "The East End of London: what a conglomeration of twisted humanity! Millions burrowed in their fetid warrens like rabbits: born, lived and died there".[29] In comparison to this, New Zealand probably did not seem like such a bad option.

The freedoms that New Zealanders hoped for were not guaranteed in the larger cities either. England in many ways was just as conservative as New Zealand, but there was a large enough population to allow self-sustaining fringe and bohemian subcultures. The highly public trial and subsequent imprisonment of Oscar Wilde (leading to his later "exile" in France) made it very obvious that homosexuality was officially as ill-tolerated in England as in New Zealand, although many people high

[27] According to Mary Burgen, "in the London area, phthisis (as the last stage of tuberculosis was then called) was the leading single cause of death for women in their late teens to twenties, accounting for more than 45 per cent of the fatalities in 1916". This was the disease that ended Katherine Mansfield's life prematurely, and also, probably, Frank Anthony's. Tuberculosis is caused by airborne transmission of a bacillus from person to person, not one's environment, but the disease was considerably worsened by poor living conditions, pollution and overcrowding. Mary Burgen, *Illness, Gender and Writing: The Case of Katherine Mansfield* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 124, in Angela Smith, *Katherine Mansfield and Virginia Woolf: A Public of Two* (New York; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 34.

[28] Arnold Wall, "London Lost", *London Lost and Other Poems* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922), p. 8.

[29] David Lynn, *Love and Hunger* (London: Kangaroo Books, 1944), p. 3.

up in the literary world were homosexual. The predominance of gay members of the literati annoyed Rex Fairburn, who protested to Ron Mason that being heterosexual was a barrier to acceptance into London literary circles.[30] Geoffrey de Montalk's predictions about the freedoms that London was going to afford were checked somewhat on his arrival. In 1928 he wrote: "I have been in the papers here during the last few days, together with Douglas, as we went into a West End restaurant in silk shirts and blue trousers, but no coats. We were refused service". The newspapers contributed headlines like "'Poet in Silk Shirt' and all that sort of rubbish".[31] He was referring to Douglas Glass, who was arrested soon after Montalk arrived for "stealing from the menswear shop at which he was working".[32] By 1930 Glass had fled to Paris. De Montalk was eventually imprisoned himself for attempting to publish a bawdy poem he had written for Fairburn, and was adopted as a *cause célèbre* by the leading literary figures of the day.

The writers usually blamed the frustration of their expectations not on the impossibility of the expectations, but on the fact that they were disadvantaged in London by being outsiders. Being a New Zealander seemed like a handicap, and led to the belief that the only way to succeed was by minimising this difference, which meant becoming an exile. All the complaints of expatriate writers and their subsequent disillusionment with London were probably the result of the myths they had grown up with that promised intellectual and cultural fulfilment in England. If they were not successful from New Zealand there was no reason to suppose they would be in England. London was not an automatic ticket to success. *London Called Them* (a novel by Isabel Peacocke about young New Zealanders in London) features the hopeful artist Dick Travers, disillusioned by his lack of success. "'The whole

[30] Fairburn to Mason, 4 Dec 1931, MS 592/20, *HL*.
[31] de Montalk to Mason, 19 July 1928, MS 592/11, *HL*.
[32] Stephanie de Montalk, p. 100.

thing's been a farce,' he laughed rather bitterly—'me coming here to set the Thames on fire when I couldn't even make the Waitemata smoke'".[33] Dan Davin also mocked this idea, satirically portraying those whose imaginary England was unlike the real London: "Who would have believed that feet could become this sore in Oxford Street as in Karangahape Road… that if you were without love in your own country you were without love everywhere?"[34]

It was true that being outside literary circles made life difficult: unknown writers usually had at least one of two obstacles to overcome. Firstly, they were often unknown to English publishers. Unless they were fortunate enough to have influential contacts, new writers had to be very lucky to get their work published. Some kind of recommendation was usually necessary, as in the case of Ursula Bethell. In a letter to Frank Sidgwick of Sidgwick & Jackson (London publishers) Bethell quoted a piece she had read by Edward Thompson that said: "there is at the present moment no publisher who would at his own expense publish a new poet (if there is, let him speak, that we may all look at a brave man)". She went on to say: "have you spoken? Or should it be my pleasant daring to write to … Edward Thompson & reveal you?"[35] She said this because she had just had her first volume of poetry, *From a Garden in the Antipodes,* published by Sidgwick & Jackson—and this was an unusual risk for a publisher to take. Bethell, though, was assisted by contacts established through her friend Arthur Mayhew. Publication in England was particularly difficult for poets; Sidgwick mentioned many times the probable lack of profit and his intention to make

[33] Isabel Peacocke, *London Called Them* (London: Ward, Lock, 1946), p. 107.
[34] Davin, p. 100.
[35] Ursula Bethell to J. Sidgwick, 4 Nov 1929, Sidgwick & Jackson papers, MSS 142, fol. 75, *Bodleian Library Special Collections (BLSC),* Oxford.

sure that "the author is aware poetry as a rule is not remunerative".[36] Most writers were less fortunate than Bethell.

Secondly, "outsiders" found it difficult to make inroads into literary circles, for being successful in London was often a matter of one's level of involvement in cliques and contacts. Arthur H. Adams encountered this in London and wrote about in the *Bulletin* on his return:

> The London editor doesn't know you, doesn't want to know you, has never heard of you or your work. And he does know your London rival. He was at Oxford with his father, or a bishop has mentioned his name, or they both come from the same county, or he's a friend of somebody in the Stock Exchange.[37]

In *London Called Them*, the young New Zealand writer, Ngaere, complains of not being given a chance by publishers because "we're not smart little Oxford or Cambridge undergrads, with smart little nasty minds ... they despise us overseas writers as literary barbarians just because we weren't born in the Strand or Little-Muddle-in-the-Mud and haven't been to their mouldy universities".[38] Peacocke's assessment of the situation precisely matches the utterances of other writers. In a letter to Monte Holcroft written from London, Jane Mander backed up Peacocke's assertions, saying: "Nobody knows better than I that the way of the writer is long and hard, the overseas one at any rate. We have more than ever now to contend with the horde of clever young Oxford and Cambridge graduates who are all writing books of one kind or another ... We outsiders have to be so much better than they to get any notice at all".[39] She was paraphrased in the *Auckland Star* as saying that "Too much favour is shown by publishers to the young men just down from Oxford and

---

[36] Frank Sidgwick to Arthur Mayhew, 29 May 1929, Bethell papers, MS 558, *Macmillan Brown Library (MBL)*, Christchurch.
[37] Arthur H Adams, The *Bulletin*, 1905, in Theresia Marshall, "New Zealand Literature in the Sydney *Bulletin*", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995), p. 150.
[38] Peacocke, p. 131.
[39] Jane Mander to Monte Holcroft, 9 Nov 1931, Holcroft papers, MS Papers 1186/16, *Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL)*, Wellington.

Cambridge, like Beverley Nicholls, irrespective of the quality of what they have written".[40] Peacocke was heavily involved in literary circles in New Zealand, particularly in Auckland where Jane Mander was based from 1932, so would have spoken to authors with first-hand experience of life in London. Thus she was aware that being unknown, and being outside literary circles, was a handicap, although this could be overcome by influential connections, provided one was lucky enough to have them.

London had a multitude of cliques and clubs, and just knowing which one to approach was difficult. In a talk given to the Lyceum Club in 1933 Jane Mander explained:

> The artist set of New York is a huge fluid affair in which everybody knows everybody, for the Americans have a peculiar form of inferiority complex which leads them to get a severe pain if they don't meet everybody, whereas in London there are some twenty odd circles and sets which don't mix in anything like the same general scene.[41]

The complicated workings of the literary social scene would have been a mystery to those newly arrived amongst it. The credentials required for membership in these societies often ruled out writers who were not already successful, creating a paradox that was difficult to overcome. London's Lyceum Club, for example, was designed to help writers, but gaining membership required already having had a book published, having university qualifications or being the wife or daughter of a "distinguished" man.[42] Nelle Scanlan was invited to join PEN immediately after her arrival in London, because she was already known as a writer. She wrote to Alan Mulgan in 1959: "I was

---

[40] Jane Mander, "Modern Authorship—Conditions Abroad: What the Publishers Want", Auckland *Star*, 27 Oct 1932.
[41] Jane Mander, "Talk to Lyceum Club", 8 June 1933, Mander papers, NZMS 535, *Auckland Public Library (APL)*.
[42] *The Lyceum Club, London: A Prospectus* (London, 1903), Bodleian Library Bookstack (5).

the first New Zealand writer to become a member of PEN in London. When my first book was published".[43]

Writers outside these organisations were often disadvantaged because they lacked essential knowledge about the publishing industry. A recent arrival in the city would not necessarily know how to write the kind of work that London publishers were likely to be interested in. Jane Mander described the "awful rubbish" that could be found in English magazines, but made the point that "there are experts in rubbish as in everything else", and in order to produce writing that would be accepted a writer needed "knowledge of the market and the public that no colonial writer can acquire at once".[44] While in London, New Zealanders could still write within the colonial writing world, but some publishers were more likely to be sympathetic to new writers or writing with a colonial setting than others, and it helped to know who they were. Edith Lyttleton's American publisher, Curtice M. Hitchcock (of The Century publishing company), sold the rights of Lyttleton's popular book *Pageant* to Allen & Unwin because of their "unusually good Colonial connections" and because he expected there would be "a good colonial return" on the book.[45]

In an industry where contacts were so helpful, another possible stumbling-block for the unconnected writer was the process of securing a review. The literary review was a phenomenon that developed during the nineteenth century, and since its arrival on the scene, the power of reviewers to make or break a writer had increased. Some people took this idea to extremes, and 1819 a bad review of Keats in the *Quarterly Review* was "widely supposed" to have been the cause of his death.[46] Reviewing relied heavily on the whims of the reviewers, and could be a very fickle

[43] Nelle Scanlan to Alan Mulgan, Christmas Day, c1957, Mulgan papers, MS Papers 0224/11, *ATL*.
[44] Jane Mander, "On Making Good: Colonials in London", The Christchurch *Sun*, 4 Dec 1924, p. 8.
[45] Curtice M Hitchcock to Edith Lyttleton, Lyttleton papers, MS Papers 8649/31, *ATL*.
[46] R.C.K Ensor, "The Diffusion of Ideas" in G. F. J. Cumberlege (ed.), *Essays Mainly on the Nineteenth Century Presented to Sir Humphrey Milford* (Oxford 1948), p. 83, in Waller, p. 117.

affair. For example, it was known to be unwise to publish a book in the spring because in naming their "book of the year" at the end of the year, reviewers rarely managed to remember further back than autumn.[47] According to the British novelist Marie Corelli, reviewing was *always* done by favour.[48] In *London Called Them*, Ngaere deplores her chances of gaining recognition, saying: "What chance have I got, or others like me? No influence—no pull anywhere. I don't know any best-seller novelist who'll pull the strings for me, if I do the same for him when his next piece of tripe appears".[49] In some people's opinion, even a bad review was better than being ignored, as what really counted was being talked about by the "metropolitan elite" and being the "gossip of the clubs and dinner tables". [50] Again, being well-known in society was invaluable for writers, and thus reviewing—or the lack of it—was yet another way in which the impenetrability of London's literary networks hindered new writers.

Professional endorsement was very important, and competitions and prizes could "make" a new writer. Both the United Kingdom and United States publishing industries selected a "Book of the Month", which could boost sales immediately. Andrew Nash wrote: "In 1928 a Book of the Month (US) selection meant an advance of $500, a minimum order of 35,000 copies and the added benefit of publicity". The Book Society in the United Kingdom was so powerful it could even control how novels were written. "In 1932", writes Nash, "the Book Society informed Chattos that they would select David Garnett's *Pocahontas* as their monthly choice for January

[47] Arnold Bennett, *New Age*, 12 Jan 1911, in Arnold Bennett, *Books and Persons* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1917), pp. 289-90.
[48] Waller, p. 142.
[49] Peacocke, p. 131.
[50] Arnold Bennett, *New Age*, 12 Jan 1911, in Arnold Bennett, p. 291.

1933 provided that alterations were made to the opening chapter".[51] This referred to some troubling scenes of violence which Garnett obediently removed.

When writers did manage to get their manuscripts accepted, inexperience could again work against them as they tried to negotiate a favourable contract**.** Unknown writers were in less of a position to bargain, and even successful authors were not guaranteed a healthy profit. Up till the 1890s it was usual for publishers to pay authors a lump sum of £50 to £100 for the whole copyright.[52] New Zealand author Clara Cheeseman's book *A Rolling Stone* was published by Richard Bentley & Son in 1886. It was to appear in three volumes, and she was paid £40 for the entire copyright. In the new century it became more common for authors to negotiate royalty agreements and the process became even more convoluted and open to manipulation.[53] For women this was for some time complicated further by their being unable to sign contracts on their own behalf. Cheeseman's contract contained the clause "In the event of the Author being a Married Lady, this Agreement should be countersigned by her Husband".[54] As she was unmarried at the time, her brother responded to the contract. Edith Lyttleton ran into trouble with her book *Pageant* due to multiple contracts with publishers in different countries. For every £100 she earned in Australia, she ended up with £16 after paying Australian and American tax, two publishers' commissions, one agent's fee, and she still had to pay New Zealand tax.[55] New writers risked making a loss if they did not possess the knowledge to prevent

[51] Andrew Nash, "Literary Culture and Literary Publishing in Inter-War Britain: A View from Chatto & Windus", Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison (ed.), *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: British Library, 2007), p. 333.
[52] Walter Besant, "Literature as a Career", *Review of Reviews*, August 1892, in Waller, p. 32.
[53] John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London; New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 178.
[54] Agreement with Clara Cheeseman of Auckland, 8 April 1885, Richard Bentley & Son agreements (327), Add 46621, *British Library (BL)*, London.
[55] Sturm (2003), p. 208.

this. However, achieving publication was more important than how much a writer made on a first book.

The London literary scene was in some respects a rather impenetrable "old-boys' club" which made life difficult for emerging authors. An example is the case of New Zealand author Rosemary Rees who, despite having very convincing evidence, lost a case of plagiarism to Walter and Frederick Melville who were well-known figures within the dramatic arts. Rees claimed that she had sold her play "The Beggar Maid" to Walter Melville, who later sold it back to her for the same price, but kept a copy. Several months later he produced "The Beggar Girl's Wedding" which had almost exactly the same plot. The two plays are summarised in the archives of the Society of Authors in the British Library and are basically identical barring names and some wording. Surprisingly, however, Rees lost the case, and according to the Court of Appeal judgement this was because "It is clear that there has not been any deliberate or intentioned copying".[56] The Melville brothers owned several theatres in London including the Lyceum Theatre over which they reigned for thirty years.[57] It seems that Rees' word and evidence were not enough to convince the court to rule against them as members of the literary establishment.

Writers who had high expectations of the literary opportunities London could offer were often disappointed. London was not an easy place to become a successful writer, particularly for those who were reliant on their writing to survive financially. Upon relocation they were perhaps not achieving publication at the rate they anticipated. Rather than blaming this on their unrealistic expectations, or the quality of the writing they were submitting, they tended to blame their lack of success on

[56] Miss Rosemary Rees v. Walter Melville, 1913-1914, Society of Authors Archive, ff. 1-81, Vol. CCCCVII, Add. 56981, *BL*
[57] Elaine Aston and Ian Clarke, "The Dangerous Woman of Melvillean Melodrama", *New Theatre Quarterly*, XII:45 (1996), pp. 30-1.

their status as outsiders. The reality of "making good" in London was hard. As Felicity Barnes says, "For many writers life was harder, and their work was less, in quality or quantity, than they would have liked it to be. The attractions of the metropolis were not necessarily equivalent with its rewards".[58]

Even the most successful of expatriate artists had an initial struggle. When Frances Hodgkins left New Zealand to pursue a painting career, she never intended to stay in Europe for more than a year. She ended up staying for the rest of her life and being the first New Zealander to have a painting hung "on the Line" at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1903. However, it took a great deal of perseverance to get that far. Initially she had many set-backs, like that in Cornwall where "her attempt to break into the old-established societies proved as ineffectual as her brief siege of Bond St … Work sent to the New English Art Club was simply, as she said, 'REFUSED, REJECTED – spurned – flouted and returned'".[59] Hodgkins came from a background that meant she was probably one of the least artistically deprived people in New Zealand: her father was an art teacher and heavily involved in artistic circles. Like Katherine Mansfield, she had every opportunity but still found it difficult to break through in London. Being successful in London was simply very hard work.

In fact, London life was hard for everyone, not just newcomers from the colonies: everyone was an outsider in some way. Many of the leading lights of the literary establishment were originally from outside England. Ezra Pound, Henry James and T.S. Eliot were all émigrés from America in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. T.S. Eliot had to work in the Colonial and Foreign Department of Lloyds Bank for eight years from 1917 to support himself and his wife while he tried

[58] Felicity Barnes, p. 105.
[59] Eric McCormick, *The Expatriate: A Study of Frances Hodgkins* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1954), p. 69.

to conquer the literary scene.[60] James Joyce and W.B. Yeats were, of course, immigrants from Ireland. These writers were not automatically integrated into the literary scene and had to work to attain their eventual lofty positions, against fairly difficult odds.

It was not just foreigners who had difficulty breaking into the literary scene in London, either. Unconnected English people, whether moving to London from rural areas, a different city, or merely a less fashionable part of the city itself (thus making them not part of the "right" circles) could face these problems. The class system that was deeply entrenched in English society created great barriers for many people. Arnold Bennett, for example, came from Burslem, now part of Stoke-on-Trent in Staffordshire, and had to work very hard to gain the position he did. His social background—he came from a family of provincial shopkeepers—had taught him to see authors, especially metropolitan ones, as "beings apart and peculiar".[61] Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry were very much part of the English literary scene by 1917, associating with "members and friends of the Bloomsbury group: T. S. Eliot, Aldous Huxley, Lytton Strachey, Dorothy Brett, Siegfried Sassoon, the Woolfs, S. S. Koteliansky and Bertrand Russell". Even then, however, "Murry, perhaps because of his lower-middle-class background, was often seen as an outsider, as was Mansfield, the colonial".[62] According to Peter Macdonald, social origin was important: "Very crudely, for the culturally and socially privileged", involvement in

[60] Doris L. Eder, *Three Writers in Exile: Pound, Eliot and Joyce* (Troy, N.Y.: Whitston, 1984), p. 65.
[61] Arnold Bennett, *The Truth About an Author* (1903; London: Methuen, 1914), p. 2, in Peter Macdonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice*, 1880-1914 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 68.
[62] Gillian Boddy, "Mansfield, Katherine 1888 – 1923", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).

high-brow literary circles was "like speaking a first language", while, for the more marginalised, it was "like learning a second late in life".[63]

Even those within the literary establishment did not necessarily feel that their path was an easy one. Virginia Woolf, it would seem, was the ultimate insider. Her father, Sir Leslie Stephen, as the editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "had known most eminent authors and journal editors".[64] She was often perceived as the centre of what came to be known as the Bloomsbury Group. As a woman, however, she often felt marginalised. In *A Room of One's Own* she described the disenfranchisement she felt when denied access to knowledge because of her gender. Attempting to enter a famous "Oxbridge" library to consult a Thackeray manuscript, she was intercepted by "a deprecating, silvery, kindly gentleman, who regretted in a low voice as he waved [her] back that ladies are only admitted to the library if accompanied by a fellow of the college or furnished with a letter of introduction".[65] Women were also frequently disadvantaged, as mentioned earlier, by being denied access to the meeting places where cultural information was shared, such as clubs. The Royal Colonial Institute, for example, initially admitted men only, though women could join in subordinate positions from 1909.[66]

The "exile" label, taken to its logical conclusion, has come to encompass anyone writing from a marginalised perspective. David Bevan, writing on exile, says: "Exile, viscerally, is difference, otherness".[67] From a term that originally meant "the state of being barred from one's native country",[68] "writing in exile" has been

---

[63] Peter Macdonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice*, 1880-1914 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 17.
[64] Waller, p. 152.
[65] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 9.
[66] Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp 105-6.
[67] David Bevan, *Literature and Exile* (Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1990), p. 3.
[68] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, http://dictionary.oed.com (2010).

extended to mean "all conceivable forms of alienation".[69] Thus the writing industry of London was peopled heavily with "exiles". Everyone was marginalised—if not foreign, they were the wrong class or the wrong gender. By this logic one could come to the conclusion that everyone was an outsider when it came to the London literary scene. A more useful assertion, however, would be to realise that it was difficult for anyone to succeed, and that New Zealanders were at no greater disadvantage than many.

The perception remained that writers from overseas would find it harder to earn money. Despite the seeming abundance of opportunities, for a writer newly arrived from the other side of the world with no alternative source of income, making any kind of living was difficult. Many people found themselves living much more frugally than they had hoped. In a large city, with no family or friends to help in times of crisis, writers could end up being impoverished unless they had a healthy allowance from home. In a 1924 article on the struggle of the overseas artist in London, Jane Mander advised people not to come over unless they had money. She calculated that the minimum cost for a woman living alone in one room in London "could not be less than four pounds a week in any decent neighbourhood".[70] It was necessary for writers to avoid boarding-houses as they needed peace and solitude to write. Thus, a minimum of £2 out of the £4 went on rent, and for the rest

> you would get only the cheapest of clothes and the poorest of food in the most sordid of places unless you could cook for yourself. You could never take a taxi. You could occasionally enjoy a theatre from the pit. You could not get out of London for week ends. It would help if you could make your own clothes, do your own washing and cooking, and eliminate all thoughts of having anything beautiful around you, or of entertaining a friend, or of buying books.[71]

---

[69] Vytautas Kavolis, "Women Writers in Exile", *World Literature Today*, 66:1 (1992), p. 43.
[70] Jane Mander, "On Making Good", p. 8.
[71] Ibid.

Mander was supported by her father while in England, and tried to supplement this with writing and journalism, but admitted in 1924 to being "hundreds of pounds in debt".[72] Monte Holcroft's pilgrimage to London ended in disenchantment, and he mentioned the pitying attitude towards writers from the Dominions: "Another poor devil come to London to starve".[73] D'Arcy Cresswell resorted to selling his poems door-to-door. He found this "financially rewarding", as the silver half-crown he could get for a set of poems "would buy a meal at the diner François, (in Old Compton Street), which would last you two days".[74] When Hector Bolitho met D. H. Lawrence, Lawrence advised him that in order to succeed he must be prepared to leave London and "be content to live on three pounds a week".[75] This, like Cresswell's plan of having a meal every two days, was not the glamorous lifestyle Bolitho had in mind. Later, despite his success, he was still pleading poverty, writing to Chatto & Windus: "I am desperately poor, as ever, and am now swimming manfully ahead on an overdraft".[76] He complained of his impoverished circumstances, saying his figure was "not Greek enough" to go about without clothes.[77] Fairburn wrote to Mason from London:

> If you hear of any bright young souls packing their trunks to come over this way, just be kind to them: grab them by the coat-tails and jerk them back off the gang plank. I heard that Marie and Maud Ballantyne were thinking of coming, Unless they've got a lot of money in their stockings they're damn fools.[78]

Financial difficulties, however, affected everyone, not just colonials and immigrants. The British writer Arnold Bennett was encouraged to enter a *Tit Bits*

---

[72] Aorewa McLeod, "A Home in this World: Why New Zealand Women Stopped Writing", *Women's Studies Journal*, 14:2 (1998), p. 68.
[73] Monte Holcroft, "Who Travels Alone", Christchurch *Sun*, 28 March 1929.
[74] Stephanie de Montalk, p. 109.
[75] Bolitho, p. 95.
[76] Hector Bolitho to Charles Prentice, 15 July 1927, Chatto & Windus papers, CW 25/3 (Folder One), *University of Reading Special Collections (URSC).*
[77] Bolitho to Prentice, 14 Aug 1927, CW 25/3, *URSC*.
[78] Fairburn to Mason, 6 Jan 1932, MS 592/18, *HL*.

(magazine) competition, and when he won he began free-lancing for this and similar publications (the *Sun*, an evening paper; *Cassell's Family Magazine* and the *English Illustrated*). He made little more than £15 a year doing this and had to supplement his income by working as a clerk. He reported in 1900 that, after covering the costs of having the manuscript typed, his book (*A Man of the North*) had earned him "the sum of one sovereign". This was nothing to grumble about, however. "'Many a first book has cost its author a hundred pounds', he noted later. 'I got a new hat out of mine'".[79]

Even the most highly-regarded members of the modernist movement faced impoverished circumstances. Those at the forefront of literary innovation were not the same writers who found themselves on the bestseller lists, at least not in their own time. The mainstream book-buying and book-borrowing public set parameters of profitability for the publishing companies, giving a heavy advantage to books with obvious popular appeal. Libraries which operated on a "tuppeny" system[80] depended on books being quickly read, and thus preferred to purchase shorter and more undemanding pieces. Boot's Booklovers' Library bought "over a million books a year" according to chief librarian F.R. Richardson,[81] so a library was certainly a significant consumer in this industry. Andrew Nash notes that leading literary figures, with the exception of E.M. Forster, all had "uneasy relationships with the market" and had to find alternative channels of publication:

> [D.H.] Lawrence struggled to find a market after the banning of *The Rainbow* (1915), and had to publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) privately in Florence. [Virginia] Woolf found editorial freedom in a form of self-publication by the Hogarth Press; [T.F.] Powys's most famous novel, *Mr*

---

[79] Arnold Bennett, *The Truth About an Author* (1903; London: Methuen, 1914), p. 79, in McDonald, pp. 68 & 77.
[80] As opposed to subscription. David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: the Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008).
[81] Henry Scheurmier (ed.), *The Book World* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1935), p. 201, in Nash, "Literary Culture and Literary Publishing in Inter-War Britain", in Eliot, Nash and Willison (eds.), p. 326.

> *Weston's Good Wine* (1927) was first published in a limited edition; [James] Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) was published by the specially-created Shakespeare and Company in Paris.[82]

Continuing into the 1930s, more "intellectual" books became more accessible through institutions like the Penguin Classics library, which deigned to publish them and sell them at an affordable price. Largely, however, writers wanting to create cutting-edge literature had to occupy a very privileged position or be extremely lucky. Lawrence, Woolf and Joyce all had their most famous books published independently or overseas because mainstream publishers were unwilling to take such risks.

If writers were really to establish themselves in the literary scene, they had to maintain a careful balance between financially profitable work and work that was intellectually interesting. The literati looked down on the lowbrow pursuit of commercial gain and held profit-motivated authors in low esteem. Genuine writers had to be indifferent to "the established tastes of the public or the demands of a literary market",[83] or at least had to appear that way. In reality almost everyone was a mixture of the "purist" (interested only in writing for its own sake) and the "profiteer" (writing to make money).[84] Joseph Conrad had to write saleable short stories to earn money without harming his intellectual integrity. Even when he had broken into the market he still had to find a patron to endorse his work.

Writers, wherever they were, felt the need to protect their egos by blaming their environment (including their location) for their lack of success. When they were in New Zealand they blamed their distance from the springs of culture in London, but when in London they blamed British publishers, the snobbish attitude of the English and the "closed" London literary scene. All this protected them from admitting their

---

[82] Nash, "Literary Culture and Literary Publishing in Inter-War Britain", in Eliot, Nash and Willison (eds.), p. 325.
[83] Peter Macdonald, p. 23.
[84] Peter Macdonald, p. 14.

own unrealistic ambitions or (often) their own lack of talent or unwillingness to work hard enough. Hector Bolitho was successful, and though this was helped along by the reputation he gained by accompanying the Prince of Wales on a tour of Australia, as Robin Hyde said this "would have meant nothing … had he not been prepared to work as few New Zealand writers, largely though they talk, would ever dream of doing".[85]

Writers thought that what was holding them back was the lack of opportunities available to them in New Zealand. What they did not realise or at least admit was that, through the colonial writing world, they had access to almost all of these opportunities without leaving the country. This meant that unless they were exceptionally lucky or well connected, they were not necessarily advantaging themselves by going to London. While the idea that they needed to leave New Zealand to be successful writers was a myth, so was the idea that in many cases replaced it—that it was the particular difficulties encountered by colonial writers in London that prevented them from enjoying the success they envisaged. Some of them returned home disillusioned and attributed the success of others to their selling out in some way, perhaps by abandoning their principles or their former identity.

4.2 Coping with the real London

The epicentre of the literary universe was not necessarily a good environment for writing. Jane Mander had thought that she needed to leave New Zealand to find the intellectual stimulus she required, but ended up saying that "nobody who wants to create should ever live in 'the swim' of a big city".[86] She wrote to Holcroft in 1932: "In many ways I envy your hermit existence in N.Z. You may be suffering over it

[85] Robin Hyde, *Journalese* (Auckland: National Printing Company, 1934), p. 47.
[86] Mander to John A. Lee, 1934, *APL*, in Dorothea Turner, *Jane Mander* (New York: Twayne, 1972), p. 35.

now, but it's out of just such isolation that really great books come ... . Then authors come to London, get ruined by adulation and bold advertising and proceed to write inferior books".[87] Eileen Duggan, who never left New Zealand, decided that the advantages of being in London were not worth the loss of credibility, saying "if the colonial way is slower, at least it is purer", and that "It is good for us to be here away from the marketplace" as she "would sicken of a praise begotten of propinquity".[88]

However, it was just as common to hear complaints of isolation and quiet being barriers to working. Mander herself had been one of the main proponents of this view, protesting about life in "sense-stultifying" New Zealand,[89] but changed her mind after going to London. Monte Holcroft took an extended holiday in the New Zealand countryside in 1934 so he could concentrate on his writing. Before long, however, he was writing to Ursula Bethell saying that it was too peaceful and he was unable to work:

> It really begins to seem that I shall have to let everything go until I return to Chch. There was a sort of [asceticism] in my life there that helped me to write. And while I was there, of course, I complained against the lack of food and rest and longed for the kind of life I am having now. Aren't we impossible creatures?[90]

Dan Davin complained of "culturally barren" New Zealand, but while enduring his first northern hemisphere winter he turned his criticisms on England, finding that the "food was bad, the cities filthy, the people intolerable, the culture shallow".[91] In general, writers were likely to complain wherever they were. As Rex Fairburn wrote to Ron Mason in 1931: "As far as I can make out, there seems to be a universal belief

---

[87] Jane Mander to Monte Holcroft, 9 May, 1932, MS Papers 1186/6, *ATL*.
[88] Eileen Duggan to Nettie Palmer, 1931, Duggan papers, MS Papers 801 2/3, *ATL*.
[89] Letter to *Triad*, 1909, in McGregor, p. 34.
[90] Monte Holcroft to Ursula Bethell, 5 Jan 1934, C4, MS 558, *MBL*.
[91] Keith Ovenden, *A Fighting Withdrawal: The Life of Dan Davin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 108.

held by every mother's son that he would be perfectly happy if he was somewhere else but where he is now. The whole world's infected".[92]

What all this indicates is that physical location of the author was not particularly important in terms of success or productivity. Writers could lack self-discipline and motivation wherever they were, but always tended to blame their location. There was no reason why writers could not be successful from New Zealand, and they were at no particular disadvantage. However, some were even more successful in London. Table 4.1 shows the place of publication of books by New Zealand authors between 1890 and 1945, sorted by the location of the author immediately before publication. Books have been omitted where the author's location is not known, as have the 120 novels of Fergus Hume.[93] 505 books are included in the table.

Table 4.1 - Location of author and place of publication

Place published	Location of author				
	NZ	UK	Aus	US	Europe
NZ	214	1	1	0	0
UK	116	95	19	0	4
Aus	13	0	27	3	0
US	4	2	1	4	0
Europe	0	0	0	0	1

As Table 4.1 shows, writers who had books published in the United Kingdom were likely to be located in New Zealand or the United Kingdom, with slightly more in New Zealand. 116 books were published in the United Kingdom while the author was in New Zealand, as opposed to 95 while the author was in the United Kingdom. Overall, the location of the author did not greatly affect the likelihood of getting a book published in the United Kingdom. While it appears the largest proportion of

[92] Fairburn to Mason, 5 Nov 1931, MS Papers 592/18, *HL*.
[93] After he left New Zealand, Hume was based in London and then Essex (and briefly Melbourne) and published the vast majority of his novels in London.

books (214 out of a total of 505) were published by New Zealanders who remained in New Zealand, most that fall into this category were books of poetry. Table 4.2 shows the figures just for novels.

Table 4.2 - Location of author and place of publication: novels

Place published	Location of author				
	NZ	UK	Aus	US	Europe
NZ	26	0	0	0	0
UK	77	72	17	3	0
Aus	5	0	13	0	0
US	4	2	1	2	0
Europe	0	0	0	0	0

The New Zealand/New Zealand figure has reduced dramatically: just 26 out of a total of 222 novels were published in New Zealand while the author was in New Zealand. However, the United Kingdom figures remain similar. This is not surprising, as novel publishing was not well advanced in New Zealand while it was relatively easy to get a small run of a book of poetry published locally. Moreover the restricted market for poetry made it difficult for large overseas firms to take an interest in it. In the case of novels published in the United Kingdom, however, there is little difference between the figures for New Zealand-based authors and United Kingdom-based authors, 77 and 72 respectively. This indicates that the location of the author was not important.

This correlates with the argument in Chapter Three that many of the writers included in the "leavers" statistics did not leave because their New Zealand location was a genuine problem for writing, but for other reasons. Moreover, even if a desire to further their writing career was a motive for travel, they often engaged in several activities during the course of their time overseas. To illustrate this point, Table 4.3 shows the journeys abroad taken by New Zealand authors between 1890 and 1945. They are sorted by the destination (United Kingdom, Australia, and Other), the length

of the journey, and the main activity during it (study, writing, journalistic work, travel/sightseeing/visiting relatives, war service or non-writing-related work). This is for the 65 "prominent" authors for whom enough information is available and who went on trips overseas during this time period. Those who took more than one trip are counted more than once.[94]

Table 4.3 - Trips overseas taken by New Zealand authors 1890-1945

Activity	<1 year			1 year			2-5 years			6-10 years			11-20 years			20+ years			Total
	UK	AU	O	UK	AU	O	UK	AU	O	UK	AU	O	UK	AU	O	UK	AU	O	
Study				2			3			4			1		1				11
Writing				1			10	2		5	1		4	3		2	1		29
Journ.		1	2	2	1		2	4	1	2	1			2		3	1	1	23
Travel	7	4	5	2	2	6	3												29
War svc.							2		3	5		2							12
Work			1		1		2	1		5	2	2	2			2			18
Totals	7	5	8	7	4	6	22	7	4	21	4	4	7	5	1	7	2	1	122
	20			17			33			29			13			10			

The table shows that "writing" was the most common main activity for New Zealand writer abroad. This was only the case for 29 out of the total number of trips taken (122), so only 24 per cent of the time, however. Other forms of work, when taken together, were more common (41 trips were for journalism or other types of work). For shorter-term journeys to the United Kingdom (a year or less), travel was the main occupation. There is no obvious overall pattern, with writers going abroad for a variety of reasons and spending their time in a variety of ways. It is clear, too, that the model of permanent expatriation is inaccurate, as many people went on short trips.

Quite a few people ended up doing something different from what they had originally intended, particularly when war intervened. D'Arcy Cresswell went to London to study architecture, but World War I broke out soon after he arrived and he ended up serving as a private with the Middlesex regiment. W. H. Guthrie-Smith was

[94] These figures have been approximated where necessary as the movements of some authors were quite complex. Any part of a trip that falls outside of the period 1890-1945 is not included.

also in Britain on one of his "periodic visits" during World War I and found himself "managing the gardens of a London hospital".[95] Randal Burdon went to England in 1914 "hoping to study law", but these plans were interrupted by World War I.[96] Later, John Mulgan and Dan Davin went to study at Oxford and then worked at Oxford University Press, but spent some years serving in World War II.

Going overseas was often not a permanent move, even for those going on longer trips, as the writer usually returned to New Zealand. Out of the 65 who left New Zealand between 1890 and 1945, 41 returned at some point, 32 died overseas and 33 returned and lived for the rest of their lives in New Zealand. In the group of authors who spent the rest of their lives in the United Kingdom, two died young. Another, Robin Hyde, was very unhappy in London and John Schroder was trying to make arrangements to bring her home when she died. John Mulgan had also expressed the intention of returning home, but died young by his own hand, suffering from depression after the war. Most of the writers who ended up spending the rest of their lives overseas came home at some point, either for a visit or an extended stay, rather than staying away permanently. Out of the total of 65 who went overseas, only 24 left and never came back.

When Ngaio Marsh arrived in London in 1928 she stayed with the Rhodes family whom she knew from New Zealand where they had owned Meadowbank Sheep Station in Marlborough, and with Nellie Rhodes she established an interior decoration shop, called Touch & Go, in Knightsbridge. She also wrote a detective novel which was published by Geoffrey Bles in 1932. She returned to New Zealand that year, but spent the rest of her life travelling between New Zealand and Britain

[95] Ronda Cooper, "Guthrie-Smith, William Herbert – Biography", *DNZB* (updated 1 Sep 2010).
[96] Richard L. N. Greenaway, "Burdon, Randal Mathews – Biography", *DNZB* (updated 1 Sep 2010).

while writing 32 immensely successful novels. She maintained links in both places and was intricately involved with colonial writing world networks.

Marsh's experience of being a migratory New Zealand writer is much more representative of actual experiences than the model of withdrawal to exile. Going to England for a time was even more common then than it is now, because New Zealanders had free entry. Until 1973 the words "British Subject and New Zealand Citizen" appeared on every New Zealand passport, and before 1948 just "British citizen". From 1974 the wording read, "New Zealand citizen". It was only in 1962 that the British government decided to restrict entry for members of the Commonwealth, fearing mass immigration from its former colonies in Asia and Africa.[97]

In fact, hardly any New Zealand writers match the "exile" description. McCormick's claim that all literary émigrés were in a state of exile and that most of them "merged themselves into the English literary world" is almost entirely inaccurate: in the period under discussion the number of people who were absorbed wholesale into Britishness was very small. However, there has been little attempt to interrogate this generalisation and its veracity, although Felicity Barnes has mentioned the matter in part two of her thesis.[98] Instead, it has been integrated into the general history of New Zealand writing.

A few writers may have experienced a kind of "exile" overseas. Katherine Mansfield had a very complicated relationship with her identity. She is often taken to be the archetype of a literary expatriate. James Bertram wrote in 1971 that "Katherine Mansfield and D'Arcy Cresswell are both exact representations of the expatriate New

---

[97] Carl Walrond, "Kiwis overseas - Staying in Britain", *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kiwis-overseas/3 (updated 4 Mar 2009).
[98] Felicity Barnes, "New Zealand's London: The Metropolis and New Zealand's Culture, 1890-1940", PhD Thesis in History (University of Auckland, 2008).

Zealand writer—uneasy wanderers between two worlds, living in a love-hate relationship with their own country".[99] Mansfield desperately wanted to leave New Zealand, yet when she did was haunted by memories of her birthplace, felt like she did not fit in to English society because of being a colonial and wrote about New Zealand in her most famous stories.[100]

The career trajectories of one individual cannot be said to represent those of an entire literary generation, however. Mansfield is an extreme example, yet generalisations about her are often extended to other writers. Stuart Murray compares Jane Mander's life to Mansfield's, saying that "Mander's life appears at times to [be] a shadow version of Mansfield's earlier engagement with London literary culture, but without the heady Bloomsbury connections".[101] There is actually very little to parallel the two writers' stories beyond the fact that they were both New Zealand writers who expressed frustration about being in New Zealand and spent some time in England. Mander's story is much more closely related to that of other colonial writing world members like Nelle Scanlan who remained part of the New Zealand literary scene while overseas. These two writers were hardly typical. Many people enrich their lives with a period overseas, but this is not exile. Often the idea of "necessary expatriatism" has been confused with the benefits spending a few years living in a different place can bring to one's perspective.

The travels of New Zealand authors could seldom be described as journeys to or from exile. The majority of New Zealand writers who were in London were not trying to earn a living as writers, often because they were overseas for other reasons,

---

[99] James Bertram, "Poetry Comes of Age", in Ray Knox (ed), *New Zealand's Heritage* (Wellington: Paul Hamlyn, 1971-1973), p. 2400.
[100] She was particularly compelled to write about her childhood in New Zealand after the death of her brother in 1915. Anthony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 183.
[101] Stuart Murray, "Review of *Story of a New Zealand Writer*", *Landfall*, 197 (1999), p. 156.

and often because they had other sources of financial support. Some were supported by their parents, like Charles Brasch, who was free to travel about in Europe as he chose. Others were there to study and as a result were financed to do so, with James Courage subsequently finding employment in a bookshop and Dan Davin and John Mulgan working at Oxford University Press. Many were in Britain mainly to pursue careers as journalists, with creative writing as a sideline. Most, like Marsh, were involved in more than one line of work. Rosemary Rees was overseas primarily because she was on a prolonged theatrical tour.

Many writers enjoyed relative success in London due to individual talent, luck and/or the employment of various coping mechanisms. Though despairing writers seemed to have the idea that it was impossible for a new writer to get published, it was probably no more difficult for a New Zealander to break through these barriers than for any other outsider. In reply to Ursula Bethell's view that publishers were not likely to publish an unknown writer, Frank Sidgwick protested that

> there is "at the present moment" … "a firm of publishers" [his own] that has always been ready to "publish a new poet at their own expense"—and has done so before the striking MS. from New Zealand reached them.[102]

The impressive list of published authors in both New Zealand and Britain testifies to the truth of Sidgwick's claim.

While New Zealanders gained no advantage by coming to London, they were not disadvantaged either. Some were extremely productive while overseas, and had successful careers based mostly in London. They included Edith Lyttleton, Nelle Scanlan, Rosemary Rees and Ngaio Marsh. Jane Mander, despite being one of the most vocal in her complaints about the difficulties of being a colonial writer in London, wrote her first three novels in New York, and the next three while in London.

---

[102] Frank Sidgwick to Ursula Bethell, 20-1 Dec 1929, MS 558, *MBL*.

She wrote none of her novels while she was in New Zealand. D'Arcy Cresswell, if the dates in the titles of his collections of poetry are to be believed, wrote all his published poems while in England.

The obstacles to publication were not insurmountable, and New Zealanders had as much chance of overcoming them as anyone else. One of the ways of doing this was to employ an agent. The expanding marketplace and rising number of professional authors led to the employment of experienced negotiators to act in the authors' interests. A.P. Watt was the first to work in the interest of authors, with others like J.B. Pinker following in his footsteps. Pinker "represented Oscar Wilde, Joseph Conrad, H. G. Wells and Henry James, and was initially regarded by London's publishers with fear and suspicion".[103] He was also D. H. Lawrence's agent, and later represented Katherine Mansfield as well. Jane Mander advised Monte Holcroft to get an agent, as she had found this very useful. In a letter to him in 1933 she recommended her agent, Leonard Moore (who also represented George Orwell). Moore was able to advise her on which publishers to approach, an important consideration since there were "certain publishers to whom it would be quite hopeless to send" New Zealand or colonial material.[104]

Finding a good agent was, of course, easier said than done, and Edith Lyttleton eventually decided she could function better without one. Her American agent, Francis Arthur Jones, arranged a contract for her book *Pageant*, but she was very unhappy with it as it bound her to accept the same terms for her next book.[105] This, and the conflict that followed, caused her to write to Jones: "It may interest you to know that you have reduced me to such a state of nerves and exhaustion that I have had to give up writing altogether. I feel that I never want to write another book. My

[103] Feather, p. 141.
[104] Mander to Holcroft, April 13 1933, MS Papers 1186/6, *ATL*.
[105] Lyttleton, Letter to Hitchcock, 21 Feb 1933, MS Papers 8649/31, *ATL*.

agents always make me bad contracts and then make me fight for what I can get… if anything".[106] She eventually found the solution to this herself. She wrote in 1933: "When I came to live in London I found that I could do very much better for myself without an agent, and in three years I had contracts with all the magazines I could write for, and had raised my prices from 7 guineas a story to 7 or 8 guineas a thousand words".[107] Lyttleton's complaints about her British agent (none other than J. B. Pinker) were perhaps exaggerated, and according to Terry Sturm, Pinker was "assiduous in carrying out her wishes and promoting her interests".[108] In most cases it would seem an agent was helpful.

If not employing an actual agent, some writers used their better-placed friends to approach publishers. Hector Bolitho acted (unsuccessfully) for Eileen Duggan through Pat Lawlor when Duggan was first trying to get her poems published in London. Fairburn did the same for Mason. While Dan Davin was away serving in World War II, he managed to keep up his rates of publication because his wife, Winnie, was able to continue negotiating with publishers on his behalf. She found a publisher for his first book, *Cliffs of Fall*, while he was away. She wrote to him in 1944: "On Monday morning the Cheque from Nancy Pearn for advance on *Cliffs of Fall* arrived—£75 less commission = £67-10s net. I banked it on Tuesday, but I've felt frightfully pleased all the week. It's very concrete, isn't it, darling?"[109]

With a combination of talent, tenacity and good luck, the obstacles to literary production and publication could be overcome. Though established writers complained of the swathes of letters they got from third-rate poets hoping to win their

[106] Edith Lyttleton to F.A. Jones, 16 June 1933, MS Papers 8649/31, *ATL*.
[107] Edith Lyttleton to the Society of Authors, London, 6 Jan1933, MS Papers 8649/31, *ATL*..
[108] Sturm (2003), p. 120.
[109] Winnie Davin to Dan Davin, 17 May 1944, Anna Davin (private collection), London.

support, some hopeful writers used this method with success.[110] Hector Bolitho wrote to G. K. Chesterton: "I met you once, at a garden party, so I feel that I may begin in this way".[111] D'Arcy Cresswell approached T. E. Lawrence by letter, and was pleased to receive a reply: "I was delighted to get back and find you had answered so promptly. Ede said you didn't even open your letters for weeks … if my first letter was somewhat pompous, it was because I feared you might snub me".[112] Cresswell's generally assertive approach, which included selling his poems door to door, seemed to work well, for despite the disputed quality of his poetry he returned home with a reputation as a "man of letters".[113]

Unknown writers required tenacity when approaching editors. Hector Bolitho, after living in England and being involved in the literary scene for a while, knew exactly how to go about getting published, despite the fact that he had never written a novel before. Accompanying his manuscript of *Solemn Boy*, which he sent to Chatto & Windus, was a letter, which said:

> I have had two or three unimportant books published—the main one the history of the Princes [sic] antipodean tour. I accompanied him.
>
> In Australia, Africa & N.Z., I have a 'name' as a writer: my last book sold 4800 copies in N.Z. & Australia & my newspaper stories & articles are always featured. I mention this because I am confident of a good sale of a novel in these countries, in all of which I have edited newspapers & magazines. In England I write for 'The Times', Manchester 'Guardian', 'Country Life' etc.
>
> If you consider the novel has any merit, I'd like the opportunity of talking over the possibility of publication with you as there are certain reasons why I am assured a successful sale: too complex to explain in a letter.[114]

---

[110] Tennyson complained that he got sent a verse "for every three minutes" of his life. Cecil Lang and Edgar Shannon (eds.),*The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, iii (Oxford: Clarendon Press, c1981-1990), p. 399, in Waller, p. 392.
[111] Bolitho to G. K. Chesterton, Jan 18 1935, Add. 73235 (134), *BL*.
[112] Cresswell to T. E. Lawrence, 2 Sept 1930, CW 93/9, *URSC*.
[113] W. S. Broughton, "Cresswell, Walter D'Arcy – Biography", *DNZB* (updated 1 Sep 2010).
[114] Hector Bolitho to Chatto & Windus, received 11 Nov 1926, CW 25/3, *URSC*.

This approach reveals a self-assurance that most new writers would not have possessed. It had the desired effect, and the book was published.

Experience could also allow writers to overcome the obstacles that the review process provided. Reviewing was an institution which was at best biased and at worst entirely influenced by whom a writer knew. It helped to know how the system worked—some writers or publishers prearranged reviews of their books in sympathetic publications. Waller says that "evidence about authors and publishers endeavouring to arrange friendly or prominent notices of their books is not difficult to gather".[115] Hector Bolitho was a veteran at this, and when *Solemn Boy* was published by Chatto & Windus, he sent them very strict and detailed instructions on which publications to send review copies to:

> I am sending you herewith 7 letters to personal friends on New Zealand newspapers, also a list of other papers to whom I think you should send review copies. A similar list for Australia will follow. I am enclosing also two typed copies of another article on my book which your press representative might be able to place outside London. I am already making arrangements for the article to appear in London. [She] might have a number of copies done and send it to Provincial papers.[116]

Bolitho was very confident of making colonial sales and possessed a vast amount of knowledge about how to use the facilities of the colonial writing world to his advantage. He is justly described as the "king of expatriate networking" by Felicity Barnes.[117]

For someone less well-connected and less experienced it was more difficult. Margaret Escott attempted to exert her influence when her book *Show Down* was published, but could only come up with one suggestion: "I have a friend who seems to know a great many people in the writing world, & although my name alone would

---

[115] Waller, p. 129.
[116] Bolitho to Chatto & Windus, 6 Jan 1927, CW 25/3, *URSC*.
[117] Felicity Barnes, p. 119.

convey nothing to them, if she added a personal note, this might do a [bit of] good".[118] Perhaps as a result, *Show Down* was not an initial success. Harold Raymond of Chatto & Windus replied to Escott's letter saying that the novel was selling very slowly. The book had sold 450 copies, and 100 of these went to an agent in Canada.[119] The letters reveal that Escott wrote another book which she submitted for publication to Chatto & Windus, called "Face to Face". The book was put through four separate readers, as Raymond obviously wanted to help, but despite saying "all of us very much admire portions of the book", he ended with, "I am sorry to say that we do not feel we could get away with it". [120] Soon after the publication of *Show Down* Escott returned to New Zealand via Australia and never published anything else.

Some writers learned the art of writing for money. Jane Mander complained of the rubbish that English writers were experts at churning out, but also said that "it is quite true that once you have learned the knack of writing the popular short story you can make a living out of it". Describing these sort of stories as "machine-made", she credited Edith Lyttleton as being an "old hand" at this process.[121] Arthur H. Adams wrote for the *Bulletin* in 1905 of his experience with such techniques: "it took me exactly eighteen months to get down to the level where I could see things from the English point of view. It isn't necessary to write from that point of view; it is essential to find out what it is, and allow for it".[122]

Seeking out less high-brow outlets for writing was something that many writers had to resort to. Joseph Conrad was forced to do this and New Zealand writers were no exception. Searching for available outlets for Dan Davin's writing, his wife Winnie wrote to him:

---

[118] Escott to Harold Raymond at Chatto & Windus, Feb 13 1936, CW 61/2, *URSC*.
[119] Harold Raymond to Margaret Escott, 1 April 1936, CW 61/2, *URSC*.
[120] Harold Raymond to Margaret Escott, 7 Dec 1936, CW 61/2, *URSC*.
[121] Mander, "On Making Good".
[122] Arthur H. Adams, "On Going to London" *Bulletin*, 1905, in Marshall, p. 151.

> I've had a letter from Nancy Pearn which will annoy amuse & I hope please you. She has sold 'The Vigil'—but to 'Good Housekeeping'—but for six guineas. She realises that you will probably have mixed feelings about this, but as you know her policy is to build up as wide an audience for your future stuff as possible, & this high-class Women's mag. certainly has circulation. Also the fee is excellent, isn't it?[123]

Winnie was aware that *Good Housekeeping* was not exactly the kind of outlet Dan had in mind, but, practically speaking, all avenues had to be pursued.

Another technique employed by New Zealand authors was gender concealment. Edith Lyttleton was better known as G. B. Lancaster, and with this gender-ambiguous name many people were not aware that she was a woman. A 1904 review of *Sons o' Men* in the *Times Literary Supplement* referred to her as "Mr. Lancaster".[124] She used this pseudonym, however, mainly because her family deeply disapproved of her writerly profession. We cannot know how being known as a woman would have affected her sales: the rustic, pioneering world she wrote about may have been perceived as unbecoming subject-matter for a woman. For some, concealment was a more deliberate ploy to achieve publication. Jessie Weston, who wrote the New Zealand novel *Ko Meri: a Story of New Zealand Life* in 1890, travelled to England to publish it and once there became an established journalist writing on politics and for military magazines under the name "C. de Thierry". Only her editor knew she was a woman.[125] It is less likely she would have been taken seriously as a writer on these topics if her gender had been known.

Some writers did have warm receptions from the literary community. John Brodie, who wrote under the pseudonym John Guthrie, was a writer who had a largely positive experience in London. Rhonda Bartle writes:

---

[123] Winnie Davin to Dan Davin, 29 Dec- 2 Jan 1943-4, Anna Davin (private collection), London.
[124] "Sons o' Men", *Times Literary Supplement*, Nov 14 1904, p. 341.
[125] Janet McCallum, "Weston, Jessie", in Robinson, Roger and Wattie, Nelson (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature (OCNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 583.

> As for the rewards of writing, Brodie declared there was not much in the way of money, but 'a great deal in the feeling of attainment and a share in the life of literary London'. Among his notes … are warm letters from such contemporary leading literary lights as Monica Dickens, Godfrey Winn, Somerset Maugham, Compton McKenzie, John Galsworthy and Siegfred Sassoon.[126]

Nelle Scanlan was also received amicably, and when she arrived in London she reported she already had "a fair number of invitations".[127]

A few writers were lucky enough to have prior connections, which removed some of the obstacles they faced as recent arrivals. Ngaio Marsh, as we have seen, stayed with the Rhodes family (who featured as the Lampreys in her novel *A Surfeit of Lampreys*) in London.[128] Most New Zealanders had at least one or two relatives in England whose hospitality they could impose upon, although they were not necessarily willing to act upon this. According to James McNeish, of the five New Zealanders who feature in *Dance of the Peacocks*, "Most of them had new Zealand relatives they could stay with or sponge off in England. None of them did, except Bennett who couldn't afford to go anywhere… and Mulgan, who had to borrow from an uncle in London to survive".[129] A friend wrote to Frances Hodgkins in 1919 that she "did not wish to reside in the 'lovely house' of an aunt in London, since that meant that she would also 'give up every freedom and give up every chance of seeing the world'".[130]

A more extreme manifestation of this desire for independence came with those writers who deliberately sought out a bohemian lifestyle. The Hokitika-born poet

---

[126] Rhonda Bartle, *John Brodie: New Plymouth's Neglected Author*, Puke Ariki, http://www.pukeariki.com/Research/TaranakiStories/TaranakiStory/id/105/title/john-brodie-new-plymouths-neglected-author.aspx.
[127] Nelle Scanlan, *Road to Pencarrow* (London: Robert Hale, 1963), p. 65.
[128] Ngaio Marsh, *Black Beech and Honeydew* (London: Collins, 1981, first published 1966), pp. 155-7.
[129] By "none", he must mean at least "half" of them, which is misleading. McNeish, p. 66.
[130] Madelaine Williams to Frances Hodgkins, 17 Nov 1919, in Elizabeth Plumridge, "The Negotiation of Circumstance: New Zealand Women Artists c1890-1914", PhD Thesis (Australian National University, 1985), p. 60.

Alison Grant arrived in London in the late 1920s and immediately sought out a more simple life, "ritually burning all her London letters of introduction, sleeping rough in Trafalgar Square and selling matches on Waterloo Station".[131] Katherine Mansfield flatly refused to compromise her art for pecuniary gain. Though she received £100 a year from her parents,[132] this was not a lot of money: by Jane Mander's reckoning £2 a week would not go far. Mansfield at first lived a purposefully bohemian and impoverished life. Upon getting to England she decided to live by Wilde's doctrine of "the artist's duty of experience".[133] She wanted to marry a man "without prejudices" who would support her as an artist. She found a music teacher who complied, "married him, found him absurd, and left him after a few days. A period of extreme loneliness and depression followed".[134] She was in poor health, "she had no real home, and sought vainly for a possible refuge". She was also carrying a child, not her husband's.[135] Most people did not make their lives quite this difficult.

Some writers found their "niche" in England and stayed there. Hector Bolitho became a royal biographer and was invited by the Dean of Windsor to live in the cloisters of Windsor Castle. Robin Hyde was moved to write this poem about him:

> When asked why he lived at the Deanery
> Said Hector, "I add to the scenery –
> And the wily Yankee
> If his luck's in, may see
> Me peer like a faun through the greenery.[136]

John Mulgan and Dan Davin became important figures at Oxford University Press. H. B Marriott Watson moved to England in 1885 after being educated from the age of

---

[131] Piers Plowright "Alison Waley", *The Independent*, 23 May 2001. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/alison-waley-729143.html.
[132] Gillian Boddy, "Mansfield, Katherine – Biography", *DNZB* (updated 1Sep 2010).
[133] Andre Maurois, *Points of View: From Kipling to Graham Greene* (London: Frederick Muller, 1969), p. 322.
[134] Andre Maurois, p. 322.
[135] Andre Maurois, p. 323.
[136] Hyde, p. 47.

nine in New Zealand. He went on to write forty-three "undistinguished but versatile novels", [137] but only one, *The Web of the Spider*, had anything to do with New Zealand.

Other writers did well but all too often their story is not well known. The reason for the longevity of the idea of "disadvantaged exiles" is that literary history is all too often based on colourful hearsay and complaints originating from frustrated authors and not on empirical evidence. The story of David McClelland, who wrote under the name David Lynn, is a remarkable counter-example to this idea. John A. Lee, who reprinted McClelland's book in 1946 described Lynn as "The sensationally successful New Zealand writer, who landed in London penniless and ended by writing, publishing and selling his own novels, and as a result made a vast amount of money. He made £2,000 out of this book *Love and Hunger*, which is of rough, tough, raw-edged life".[138] As Rowan Gibbs points out, however, there is very little other information available about him, despite his publishing some twenty-eight books in total. Like McClelland, many of the more prolific writers who went to the United Kingdom actually published more while they were there than at home in New Zealand.

The stories of writers who did well, like David McClelland, are ignored in favour of those who complained bitterly about the trials and tribulations of surviving in London. It has been noted that on occasion the successes of writers in England went unreported in New Zealand, such as in the case of Isabel Peacocke's writing which was not well known in New Zealand due to poor distribution arrangements.[139] One of the main reasons that New Zealanders were not exiles was that they remained

---

[137] Nelson Wattie, "Watson, Henry Brereton Marriot, in Robinson and Wattie (eds.), *OCNZL*, p. 577.
[138] John A. Lee, *John A Lee's Weekly*, April 24 1946, in Rowan Gibbs, "The Works of 'David Lynn': New Zealand Writer", *Kotare*, 1:1 (1998), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi011Kota-t1-g1-t7.html#ftn7 .
[139] Betty Gilderdale, "Peacocke, Inez Isabel Maud – Biography", *DNZB* (updated 1 Sep 2010).

part of the colonial writing world. It was those who complained the most bitterly who also complained the loudest, and it seems their version of events was the most often recorded. In fact the colonial writing world afforded them some advantages, as we shall see in Chapter Five.

There was often a discrepancy between what writers said and what actually happened. Holcroft was negative about his time in London, causing his biographer to write: "A bleak period followed. The market for popular magazine fiction was declining and the competition for publication overwhelming; London was cold and aloof; and the reception of the romantic melodrama *Beyond the Breakers* and his second novel, *The Flameless Fire* (1929), was indifferent".[140] However, he actually wrote two of his three published novels in this short three-year stint in England.

For a good many writers, their years in the United Kingdom were exceptionally productive. This becomes clear if we look at the publication records of seven of the most prolific writers who spent considerable periods in London. Louisa Baker, Edith Lyttleton, Jane Mander, Ngaio Marsh, Katherine Mansfield, Rosemary Rees and Nelle Scanlan collectively spent 131 years in the United Kingdom between 1890 and 1945 while over the age of 18. During this time they wrote (and had published) 48 books. By contrast, during their 115 years in New Zealand they wrote just 22 books. That is a rate of 0.37 books per year in England, as opposed to 0.19 per year in New Zealand. Table 4.4 is of authors who spent four or more years in the United Kingdom, showing their literary productiveness in terms of the frequency of books produced per year. This is compared with their productivity in New Zealand. These figures show the number of years between 1890 and 1945 while the author was over eighteen years of age.

[140] Andrew Mason, "Holcroft, Montague Harry – Biography" *DNZB*, updated 1 Sep 2010.

Table 4.4 Frequency of book production

Author	Years in UK	No. of books	bk/yr UK	Years in NZ	No. of books	bk/yr NZ
Baker, Louisa	32	16	0.5	4	0	0
Baume, Eric	6	1	0.17	6	0	0
Bethell, Ursula	22	0	0	30	3	0.1
Bolitho, Hector	20	4	0.2	5	0	0
Brasch, Charles	13	0	0	2	1	0.5
Brodie, John	11	2	0.18	12	0	0
Church, Hubert	6	1	0.17	20	3	0.15
Coad, Nellie	7	0	0	36	1	0.03
Courage, James	19	1	0.05	5	0	0
Cresswell, D'Arcy	23	2	0.09	8	1	0.13
Davin, Dan	10	1	0.1	3	0	0
de Montalk, Geoffrey	18	3	0.17	7	1	0.14
Escott, Margaret	9	3	0.33	11	0	0
Glover, Denis	5	1	0.2	11	3	0.27
Grossmann, Edith	9	3	0.33	32	2	0.06
Hunter, Edward	28	1	0.04	13	1	0.33
Isitt, Kate	35	0	0	16	1	0.06
Joseph, George	7	0	0	8	1	0.13
Lyttleton, Edith	26	7	0.27	25	6	0.24
Mander, Jane	8	3	0.38	28	0	0
Mansfield, Katherine	15	6	0.4	2	0	0
Marriott-Watson, H.B	31	7	0.32	0	0	0
Marsh, Ngaio	5	1	0.2	25	13	0.52
McClelland, David	9	4	0.44	34	0	0
Mulgan, John	8	1	0.11	3	0	0
Rees, Rosemary	25	6	0.24	9	1	0.11
Scanlan, Nelle	20	9	0.45	5	2	0.4
Weston, Jessie	55	1	0.02	0	0	0
Wilcox, Dora	20	2	0.1	6	0	0
AVERAGE			0.19			0.11

In Table 4.4, non-full-time writers like Merton Hodge, William Hart-Smith and Randal Burdon are excluded, as is the exceptionally prolific Fergus Hume.

The fact that these figures show that writers were twice as productive in Britain might seem to indicate that London was better for writers in terms of productivity, though D'Arcy Cresswell, Denis Glover, Charles Brasch, Ngaio Marsh and Ursula Bethell were more productive in New Zealand. The increased productivity

in the United Kingdom might be explained by the fact that some of these writers were going to England for a relatively short period of time in an attempt to succeed as writers, and thus would have been expending the most effort during this time. Following their entire career trajectory, these years in a new place might represent the years of greatest determination. The time overseas is less likely to include the years of retirement (although a few writers began their writing later on in life), or, for women, the years of raising children. Table 4.5 shows the frequency of production broken down into the different trip lengths:

Table 4.5: Average frequency of production (books/year) vs length of time overseas

	1 year	2-5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	20+ years
UK	0	0.46	0.21	0.22	0.19
Aus	0	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25

The highest rate of book production can be seen in the 2-5 years range in the United Kingdom. It was perhaps these shorter trips that generated the most enthusiasm for producing books. The Australian figures do not vary very much over the different trip lengths. This may reflect the reasons people went to Australia—few writers went there specifically to further their writing career. Except in the 2-5 year category, productivity in the United Kingdom was similar to the figure for the average productivity of New Zealand authors in the United Kingdom: 0.19 books per year. The latter figure is exactly the same as the 20+ figure for the United Kingdom. All this bears out the suggestion that a significant group of writers spent a few "writing years" in the United Kingdom before returning to "normal life". Those who stayed in the United Kingdom long-term returned to "normal life" there and their productivity declined, just as it did in the case of writers who returned to New Zealand.

Nonetheless, the picture of unsuccessful colonial writers was in many cases incorrect, and this inaccuracy was compounded by the fact that the difficulties inherent in having to pursue publication in London were over-emphasised by those with a nationalist agenda. John Barnes cites the example of Henry Lawson, who made negative comments about Australian writers leaving for England before making the journey himself. His comments took the form of a complaint about the industry being subordinate to the "mighty Paternoster Row machine".[141] This supported the nationalist view that Australian writers in London were disadvantaged if they did not conform to British tastes and Australian writing suffered as a result. Lawson's largely positive experiences in London were overshadowed by the "received interpretation of [his] venture to the imperial centre" by later nationalists like Vance Palmer and A. A. Phillips, turning it into a negative experience.[142] Barnes also acknowledges that the Paternoster Row poem lampooning the effects of British publishing on Australian writing was written several years before Lawson went to England and that his attitudes changed.[143]

There is a clear reason why the cultural nationalists saw fit to emphasise publishing location as important in the identification of "national" writing. Their own importance on the local scene had a lot to do with the development of local publishing infrastructure from the 1930s onwards, in the form of institutions like Denis Glover's Caxton Press. By emphasising the dearth of other publishing options and the damage done to nationalist concerns by overseas publishing, the cultural nationalists made

---

[141]Henry Lawson, *A Song of Southern Writers*, 1892, in Martyn Lyons and John Arnold, *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945: A National Culture in a Colonised Market* (St Lucia, Qsld: University of Queensland Press, 2001), p. 25.
[142] John Barnes, "'Heaven forbid that I should think of treating with an English publisher': The Dilemma of Literary Nationalists in Federated Australia", in Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison (eds.) *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: The British Library, 2007), pp. 405-6.
[143] John Barnes, p. 405.

their own contribution seem particularly vital. They promoted the notion that the situation of the New Zealand writer was intolerable until cultural nationalism and the associated growth of local publishing and an inward-looking literary culture came to the rescue. To back this up, they used examples of the sorry fate of writers of local flavoured literature at the hands of overseas publishers and the market. Frank Anthony was one of these examples. His moderate success as a writer in New Zealand inspired him to try and "make a go of it" in England. His style was a "racy, masculine vernacular idiom"[144] which fitted the nationalists' idea of autochthonous New Zealand writing. Despite toning down the local content, however, he failed to make his work palatable to English publishers. He did not break into the English market and died early and obscurely in a boarding-house near Bournemouth. Terry Sturm follows the cultural nationalists in blaming the reliance on foreign publication for Anthony's failure. Anthony tried to alter his writing style and produced the novel "The Cruise of the Phyllis, Captured by Maori Cannibals", prompting Sturm to write that "As an attempt to satisfy an English audience's romantic image of the South Seas as an arena of savagery and exotic adventure, it provides a sadly ironic illustration of the pressures which an English market imposed on expatriate writers".[145] Anthony's work was discovered in the 1930s by the cultural nationalists who made sure to assert that this would not happen under their jurisdiction.

As the cultural nationalists would have it, before they came along to save the day, the options for New Zealand's writers were "silence" in New Zealand, or "expatriatism". Expatriatism required them to rescind their "New Zealandness", which essentially equated to "silence" anyway, as leaving the country meant that they gave up their place in the national literary canon. Literary nationalism had a central

[144] Terry Sturm, "Anthony, Frank Sheldon 1891 – 1927", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).
[145] Terry Sturm, "Introduction", in Frank Anthony, *Follow the Call* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1975).

problem with accepting foreign publication of "local" writing, and an even greater problem in accepting such writing if the author was actually living overseas. It was widely believed that writers in England would fail unless they gave up some of their "essential" "New Zealandness", as their writing would have to pander to foreign tastes. The idea that New Zealand writers could be just as successful in England and with British audiences jarred with the sentiments of the cultural nationalists, who believed that New Zealand writing should relate to New Zealanders alone.

Though the notion of "exile" had its political uses for the cultural nationalists, as a way of describing New Zealand literary history it is useless. It is inadequate to explain the experiences of New Zealanders overseas because it problematises the entirely natural patterns of transnational movement and communication that existed. It relies on a purely location-based sense of nationalism which is anachronistic if it is made the basis of judgements about New Zealand before the 1940s. It leads to an array of gaps and misconstructions. For example, Theresia Marshall says that the literary contribution of the Australasian poet Frank Morton "in the first two decades of the twentieth century has been underestimated, primarily because he never identified himself wholly with either country (and was thus never seen to 'belong' to either of them)".[146] Many people subscribed to this notion of nationalism without necessarily realising it, even those who were not overtly nationalist. Jane Mander said in 1932:

> In a way Robin Hyde ought to be an exceptional case, as she was not born in New Zealand, but in Australia.[147] Still, she was brought here as an infant and has identified herself with N.Z. life and journalism, is in the opinion of many our finest poetess, and has now written several books, of which *Journalese*

[146] Theresia Marshall, "New Zealand Literature in the Sydney *Bulletin*", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995), p. 305.
[147] Actually she was born in South Africa.

and *Check to Your King* are local colour.[148]

While totalling the number of New Zealand novelists, Mander placed a slightly negative slant on Edith Lyttleton who was "a New Zealander only by adoption" and "early left New Zealand for England and America". The fact that Lyttleton's emigration to New Zealand at the age of six and eventual departure overseas should count for more than the thirty years she spent in New Zealand in between is telling. This pedantic attitude to national identity became widespread under the influence of cultural nationalism, and yet it was rarely consistent. Some required New Zealand birth as the measure of New Zealandness, some required New Zealand content in the writing produced, and some saw residence in New Zealand as the crucial factor.

New Zealand writers overseas at the time noticed this and complained about the attitude of the cultural nationalists to their work. Douglas Stewart referred to the "villains of his native land" and the "Christchurch gang" who had been ignoring him and Eve Langley because of their Australian ties.[149] Cultural nationalist assumptions were absorbed into the mainstream way of thinking about New Zealand literature, and remained dominant even in the 1960s. Olaf Ruhen complained about them in relation to Joan Stevens' 1961 study, *The New Zealand Novel*: "if Joan Stevens (whoever she is) limits [the novels she includes] to work that has a New Zealand setting, I don't think she is entitled to her title. She has to overlook the Fergus Humes, for example; and Fergus Hume changed the face of the popular novel. Does she include New Zealand work written in London? … no matter how small a man's output [by Stevens' estimate], as long as he continues to live in New Zealand, he belongs; if he leaves, he doesn't".[150]

---

[148] Jane Mander, "Post-war N.Z. Novelists", transcript of a radio talk, c1932, NZMS 535, *APL*, p. 21.
[149] Douglas Stewart to Alan Mulgan, 20 Feb c1940, MS Papers 224/15, *ATL*.
[150] Olaf Ruhen to Pat Lawlor, 3 Feb 1963, 77-067 4/4, *ATL*.

Many of the writers who were important contributors to the national canon *were* writing from overseas. Katherine Mansfield is usually the first example given. She famously rejected the country of her birth and, initially, wanted nothing more to do with it. For this reason she represents an ambiguity in the minds of New Zealand literary historians. She cannot be ignored as the most successful New Zealand writer of the period (in terms of critical acclaim anyway), yet she rejected her "New Zealandness". A further complication is that her most accomplished stories are about New Zealand. The New Zealand literary canon encompasses many authors who wrote their novels while overseas, including James Courage, Dan Davin and Hector Bolitho, all of whom wrote about New Zealand from overseas. Many others also published their canonical works overseas. This criterion for exclusion is illogical and inconsistently applied, creating incongruities and problems of selection in much of New Zealand literary history to this day.

Chapter Five: The Colonial Writing World advantage

5.1 New perspectives

Katherine Mansfield did not feel that being a New Zealander put her in an advantageous position amongst the London literati. She wrote:

> I am the little colonial walking in the London garden patch—allowed to look, perhaps, but not to linger. If I lie on the grass they positively shout at me: 'Look at her, lying on *our* grass, pretending she lives here, pretending this is her garden, and that tall back of the house, with the windows open and the coloured curtains lifting, is her house. She is a stranger—an alien. She is nothing but a little girl sitting on the Tinakori hills and dreaming: "I went to London and married an Englishman and we lived in a tall grave house, with red geraniums and white daisies in the garden at the back". *Im*-pudence!'[1]

Mansfield's example has often been seized upon as the blueprint for the fate of New Zealand writers abroad: they were doomed to live on the margins of society forever purely because they were presumptuous enough to be both artists and New Zealanders. According to Angela Smith, this "edginess" also appeared surreptitiously in Mansfield's fiction in the form of an ever-present sense of liminality, manifested in the recurrence of images of edges and shorelines and the "spaces in-between" throughout her work.[2]

"Edginess" was supposed to be the fate of New Zealand writers forced to live overseas, trying vainly to integrate themselves with English literary circles but never quite succeeding. This is such a frequent assumption that in writing about New Zealanders abroad it has become a common literary trope: the sad image of the aspiring writer turned beleaguered exile. Unease, derived from being far from one's native roots, sometimes manifested itself in the fiction of New Zealanders. Dan Davin

---

[1] Katherine Mansfield, May 1919, *Journal of Katherine Mansfield* (Auckland: Hutchinson, 1984), p. 157.
[2] Angela Smith, *Katherine Mansfield and Virginia Woolf: A Public of Two* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 48.

wrote in 1956 about how "by crossing the sea you had abolished your right to a past, to a background".[3] Louisa Baker gave herself the pseudonym "Alien", which, according to Kirstine Moffat, "speaks of both her sense of dislocation from her New Zealand home and her sense of isolation as a professional and artistic woman in a patriarchal environment". She felt "like a permanent exile".[4] Edith Lyttleton travelled a lot and wrote her fiction from a number of different national perspectives, causing Terry Sturm to say that she never felt at home anywhere.[5]

Dislocation and the longing for home were thought to be the permanent fate of New Zealand writers who went overseas. Fairburn articulated this sentiment in the poem "To an Expatriate", saying:

> The embers of your old desire
> remembered still will glow, and fade,
> and glow again and rise in fire
> to plague you like a debt unpaid,
> to haunt you like a love betrayed.[6]

New Zealanders overseas were doomed to be haunted by the fact that they had been uprooted and could never return. Expatriate writers were condemned to roam the earth and never feel at home again. This, as we have seen, was sheer fiction, for most writers did return to New Zealand.

"Rootlessness", often interpreted as "exile", is seen as the natural outcome of being a New Zealander at the time of the colonial writing world. J. G. A. Pocock writes that the state of being a New Zealander is one of never feeling at home. This is not necessarily a bad thing in his eyes, as he sees the work of Allen Curnow as

---

[3] Dan Davin, *The Sullen Bell*, (London: M. Joseph, 1956), p. 145.
[4] Kirstine Moffat, "Louisa Alice Baker, 1856-1926", *Kōtare Special Issue: Essays in New Zealand Literary Biography Series One 'Women Prose Writers to World War I'* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi071Kota-t1-g1-t3.html
[5] Terry Sturm, *An Unsettled Spirit: the Life and Frontier Fiction of Edith Lyttleton (G. B. Lancaster)* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), p.4.
[6] Rex Fairburn, "To an Expatriate", in Allen Curnow (ed.), *Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1960), p. 155.

celebrating the creative energies that this encourages, while presenting "an imagination which could never be fully at home where it was, could never fully return to where it might have come from, and had travelled too far to fly off and live anywhere else".[7] Katherine Mansfield unsettled herself frequently, moving to different places because of her ill-health and an inability to write effectively if she remained in one place for too long. According to Lydia Wevers this is often metonymically represented in Mansfield's work with a "recurrent motif of transport".[8] She remained unsettled to the detriment of her health and personal relationships. Mansfield may seem like a person who suffered because of her dislocation, and no doubt she did, but her writing benefited. This ties in with her deliberate attempts at rejecting a comfortable existence for an edgy, bohemian one, a philosophy which, in the end, probably compounded her ill-health and early death.[9] This is different again from the standard definition of exile. Vincent O'Sullivan describes "Mansfield's sense of exile" as "not so much the feeling that there is a country she will not return to, as a state of normality which she can no longer reach".[10] In terms of literary production, however, the multiple viewpoints these relocations allowed proved useful.

Rootlessness was not, however, the fate of most New Zealanders abroad. Many felt an intense homesickness when presented with the grey reality of London that implies the opposite: that they retained a strong connection to their native land. This was inevitable as England turned out not to be the pastoral paradise they may have been expecting. According to Vincent O'Sullivan's biography, the English

---

[7] J. G. A. Pocock, "The Antipodean Perception", *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 11.
[8] Lydia Wevers, "The Short Story", *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature (OHNZL)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 219
[9] It has been speculated that Mansfield contracted syphilis or gonorrhoeaduring her early experimental phase and this contributed to her death, but it is hard to find solid evidence for this.
[10] Vincent O'Sullivan, "Katherine Mansfield: the Exile of the Mind", in Anne Luyat and Francine Tolron (eds.) *Flight from Certainty: The Dilemma of Identity and Exile* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), p. 136.

winters depressed John Mulgan and made him long for the year-round warmth of the top of the North Island.[11] Though Mulgan was not fooled by nostalgic portrayals of what England would be like, he exhibited a common antipodean reaction to the reality: disappointment mingled with homesickness. Dora Wilcox also found London depressing and wrote of the effect it had on her writing:

> And when I look on London's teeming streets,
> On grim grey houses, and on leaden skies,
> When speech seems but the babble of a crowd,
> And music fails me, and my lamp of life
> Burns low, and Art, my mistress, turns from me,
> Then do I pass beyond the Gate of Dreams
> Into my kingdom, walking unconstrained
> By ways familiar under Southern skies.[12]

In order to write, she implied, she had to imagine herself back in New Zealand. Rex Fairburn reported after his visit to Kew that he had encountered a "tea-tree bush which nearly made me cry".[13]

Living in the colonial writing world allowed the acquisition of a transnational perspective that could in fact be an advantage. Rather than being insular, New Zealand at the time of the colonial world was a land of immigrants and therefore very outward-looking. Many dreamed of visiting the places they read about and that their parents told them about. This was a natural curiosity born of having so much of their culture based around a far-away place. In *The Passionate Puritan*, Jane Mander wrote:

> No Englishman is capable of feeling for London that concentrated reverence and yearning that comes to the dreaming colonist on a New Zealand hilltop or an Australian plain. To most of them London has the painful lure of the unattainable—the mournfulness of saying year after year "Perhaps I can

[11] Vincent O'Sullivan, *Long Journey to the Border* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003), p. 98.
[12] Dora Wilcox, "In London", *Verses from Maoriland* (London: George Allen, 1905).
[13] Fairburn to Mason, 11 Nov 1930. Here he said: "I know what it is, now, to be an exile". He also mentioned that he felt less remote from home in England than he did in Wellington. In Lauris Edmond, (ed.), *The Letters of A. R. D. Fairburn* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1981).

> manage it next", and of fearing the while that it won't be managed. But the illusion is hugged and fed and never allowed to die. There is always the prospect that something may happen—and one may really get there at last. [14]

This heightened awareness of what was over the sea has also had a profound effect on New Zealand's literature and on the country's literary criticism and conception of its own literary history. It has given rise to the fruitful, transnational perspective that was allowed by New Zealand's participation in the colonial writing world. If national identity is "the product of constant interplay—of personal mobility and negotiation, of familiarity and distance, of nostalgia and disavowal",[15] as Stuart Murray claims, the colonial writing world model allows for these qualities to be expressed. In Pocock's view, history itself is never quite at home, but is "transplanted by voyagings and generated by settlements and contacts".[16] The colonial writing world perspective acknowledges this, whereas the portrayal of literature as a national project denies it and turns transnationalism and dualistic identities into something negative.

What Pocock calls the "antipodean perspective" is, in fact, an advantage. It is the extra insight one gets from living in more than one place. To some it might seem that writing about New Zealand (for example) while in London is a handicap, as the writers are distanced from the subject of their writing. However, it seems that this is not the case at all. Salman Rushdie writes of his initial concern that living in London and writing about India meant that he was never able to capture the reality of his homeland, that his "physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind". Once he had experienced writing overseas, however,

---

[14] Jane Mander, *The Passionate Puritan* (London: John Lane, 1921), p. 198.
[15] Stuart Murray, *Never a Soul at Home: New Zealand Literary Nationalism and the 1930's* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998), p. 200.
[16] Pocock, p. 19.

he saw that the added perspective was actually an advantage, and "the broken mirror may actually be as valuable as the one which is supposedly unflawed". Thus, "it was precisely the partial nature of these memories, their fragmentation, that made them so evocative for me". Being away from one's native land like this may, says Rushdie, "enable [the writer] to speak properly and concretely on a subject of universal significance and appeal".[17]

Others took the opposite view, including Bill Pearson who while in England decided that he needed immediate experience of New Zealand in order to write about it. He said of John Guthrie, who had moved to London: "if he had stayed home he might have become a very entertaining novelist or journalist. Since he writes now as if continually clearing his way through a fog, one wonders if the sophistications and pressures of London have left his mind … punch-drunk…"[18] In a few cases writers were accused of being out of touch with New Zealand. Hector Bolitho, according to Isabel Peacocke, wrote of New Zealand and included portraits of "bright and lingering twilights; of oysters growing on mango trees; of rubber trees growing wild", inaccuracies which were "irritating and distasteful" to the native ear.[19]

Conversely, some people go so far as to say that exile is necessary for writing. The author of *Three Writers in Exile: Pound, Eliot and Joyce*, Doris Eder, says that "Exile was an essential condition of Joyce's art. He needed distance in space as well as time in order to write about Dublin and to create the uncreated conscience of his race".[20] James Bertram shares this view, saying of Jane Mander and Katherine Mansfield that "some writers succeeded (usually through some years of study or

---

[17] Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* (London: Viking, 1991), pp. 10-12.
[18] Bill Pearson, Review, *Landfall*, 18:3 (1954), p. 227, in Paul Millar, *No Fretful Sleeper* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), p. 202.
[19] Isabel M. Cluett, "Hector Bolitho – An Outspoken Criticism", *All About Books*, June 18 1929, p. 221.
[20] Doris Eder, *Three Writers in Exile: Pound, Eliot and Joyce* (Troy, N.Y: Whitston, 1984), p. 89.

residence abroad) in distancing themselves from the country of their birth, and so gaining a truer perspective on its manners and customs".[21] Andrew Gurr says: "In varying degrees the normal role for a modern writer is to be an exile. He is the lone traveller in the countries of the mind, always threatened by hostile natives".[22]

Most people had multiple influences and perspectives within the context of a dual background. Douglas Stewart had what Nancy Keesing called a "dual background" as his father was Australian, while Stewart was born in Eltham, New Zealand. He spent his life transient between Australia and New Zealand, which gave him a unique perspective when writing about both countries. Keesing goes on to say that he was not an "Outsider", but "we may think of him as a man from another country looking at natural features".[23]

The idea that New Zealand writers were exiles at home and abroad, constantly at a disadvantage in their field, has arisen from a misrepresentation of their place in the world. Membership of the colonial writing world was the reality for a group of New Zealanders who had either been migrants themselves or were the children of migrants. Of the 118 "prominent" New Zealand writers, 40 per cent had come to New Zealand as migrants and of these 55 per cent were adults when they arrived. 47 per cent of the 118 writers left New Zealand between 1890 and 1945 to live somewhere else for more than a year. Only 24 per cent were born in New Zealand and died in New Zealand without leaving for more than a holiday. The state of being a New Zealander was usually equated with some sort of migration, either to New Zealand or from it. This thesis argues that this migration had nothing to do with the lack of support for writers.

---

[21] James Bertram, *Dan Davin* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 4.
[22] Andrew Gurr, *Writers in Exile: The Identity of Home in Modern Literature* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981), p. 13.
[23] Nancy Keesing, *Australian Writers and Their Work: Douglas Stewart* (Sydney: Lansdowne Press, 1965), p. 9.

As Miles Fairburn has said, the only really exceptional thing about New Zealand is that it is the "most globalized society in the world" and that New Zealanders are so indebted to outside influences.[24] It is a possibility that, because it was a young country whose settlers arrived mostly after 1860, New Zealanders were also in the early twentieth century the most migratory people in the world. The following table (5.1) compares migration in four settler colonies as a percentage of total population where the information could be found:

Table 5.1: Departure and arrival statistics for 1920[25]

	New Zealand	Australia	Canada	USA
Total population (TP)	1,240,000	5,346,276	8,435,000	106,021,537
Total departures (TD)	32,924	81,503		288,315
TD as % of TP	2.66	1.52	1.75	0.27
Total arrivals (TA)	44,062	109,109	147,492	430,001
TA as % of TP	3.55	2.04		0.41
TD + TA as % of TP	6.21	3.56		0.68

New Zealand does appear to have a greater number of both departures and arrivals per capita than the other nations. As well as that, however, one of Fairburn's own arguments may provide the answer. He emphasises the unique aspect of New Zealand's physical isolation which, among other things, caused it to be settled later

[24] Miles Fairburn, "Is There A Good Case For New Zealand Exceptionalism?" *Thesis Eleven*, 92 (2008), p. 33.

[25] Unless otherwise indicated these statistics are from Walter F. Willcox and Imre Ferenczi, *International Migrations V1* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1969), pp. 389-93, 471-3 (USA), 366-7 (Canada), 950, 956 (Australia); and 1000-1, 1007-8 (New Zealand). New Zealand population: "NZ in the 1920s", *New Zealand History Online* (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/1920s/overview (updated 8 Jun 2010); Australia population: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Population and Vital Statistics* (Melbourne, 1920), http://www.abs.gov.au;Canada population: "Population of Canada by Year", *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Population_of_Canada_by_year; USA population: US Census Bureau, "Population, Housing Units, Area Measurements, and Density: 1790 to 1990", http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/files/table-2.pdf.

than anywhere else. Thus New Zealand is a uniquely *young* country and as a result must have had an unusually high number of migrants or children of migrants.

The antipodean perspective was not just limited to those people who had moved countries at some point. All Pākehā New Zealanders were either migrants themselves or closely related to migrants. Thus the poets Jessie Mackay, Eileen Duggan and Alice A. Kenny, who were born in New Zealand and never left (or, in the case of Mackay, left later in life for a brief visit to the United Kingdom), still possessed this dual perspective. It manifested itself in their writing which was infused with a preoccupation with the issues of the old world, passed down to them from their immigrant parents. Jessie Mackay was intensely interested in the cause of Scottish and Irish home rule, and this appeared in poems like "Scotland Unfree" in her 1935 collection *Vigil*.[26] Eileen Duggan had an intense emotional attachment to Ireland, and had grown up on tales of English oppression (both her parents were from County Kerry). A review of her poetry in the *Irish Homestead* declared that "We might almost suppose she was living in Ireland".[27]

New Zealanders had the advantage of the added perspective that came with an immigrant nation. In general, they stayed closely in touch with the "old world" while they were in New Zealand, but maintained links with New Zealand while they were elsewhere. When Eric McCormick titled a chapter of *Letters and Art in New Zealand* "Between Two Hemispheres" he was not necessarily lamenting the fact that New Zealanders were doomed to a dual exile, but perhaps acknowledging that they had access to both. The chapter of Edith Grossmann's *Heart of the Bush* also called "Between Two Hemispheres" presents a stark dichotomy between "the untamed bush" and "civilised England" that simply was not the reality for most New

[26] Jessie Mackay, *Vigil* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1935).
[27] F. M. Mackay, *New Zealand Writers and their Work: Eileen Duggan* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 8.

Zealanders. In some ways they were the opposite of exiles—they had more occasion to connect mentally and emotionally with other places than the average British person. They also tended, perhaps, to think less of travelling 10,000 miles than someone who had not grown up with the idea that this was a normal thing to do. New Zealand writers abroad had advantages linked to this outlook.

5.2 Antipodean advantages

Overall, New Zealanders' difference was something they could use to their advantage, and maintaining their colonial writing world connections was often lucrative. This is at complete odds with the idea that distancing oneself from one's national origin and becoming an exile was the only way to be successful. Being different, but not too different (they were not a "visible", non-white, minority[28]) gave New Zealanders a niche they took advantage of. Their special status meant there were opportunities open only to them. Jane Mander said:

> One does not have to be a Londoner long to be able to pick out the outsiders. I do not mean the obvious foreigners, like the Hindoo law students…I mean rather the Empire visitors, who come branded with a different cast of face, freer movements, a less blasé air, and varied intonations. One can pick them anywhere, on the hill at Richmond, before roses at Kew, in the archway round the Dutch gardens before Kensington Palace.[29]

Being not quite foreign but not quite British meant New Zealanders and Australians had a unique position.

If in some respects they were outsiders, this actually served them well as they were afforded more freedom than their British counterparts. Perhaps because of their

---

[28] Karim H. Karim, *The Definition of Visible Minority: A Historical and Cultural Analysis* (Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage, 1996).
[29] Jane Mander, "London Has a Hot Time", Auckland *Sun*, 28 August 1926, Mander Papers. NZMS 535, *Auckland Public Library (APL)*, in Felicity Barnes, "New Zealand's London: The Metropolis and New Zealand's Culture, 1890-1940", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 2008), pp. 44-5.

scarcity in numbers, or else their relatively recent appearance on the English scene, New Zealanders had the advantage of occupying a unique position in English society, outside the standard class divisions. This was particularly true for women, as they occupied a position outside the usual strict British codes of conduct, whose rules were not always applied to colonials in London. Colonial women, for example, had greater freedom to move around than their English counterparts, for an unmarried genteel English lady under thirty "could not go anywhere or be in a room even in her own house with an unrelated man unless accompanied by a married gentlewoman or a servant".[30] Thus Virginia Woolf could be envious of Katherine Mansfield's freedom (though at the same time Mansfield was envious of Woolf's "settled domesticity"). Certainly the distance from the constraints of familial disapproval could give them greater freedom (although some, such as Edith Lyttleton, brought these constraints with them).

While Barnes talks of "New Zealanders' ability to transcend colonial status in London",[31] in fact it was their colonial status, and membership of the colonial writing world, that allowed them to function in a special way, with more freedom than the locals. The more rigid class structure of Britain was something that New Zealanders and Australians were less accustomed to. The idea that New Zealand was a classless society was of course an exaggeration, but class barriers in New Zealand were more permeable and rendered less effective by egalitarian ideology. Rather than intuitively being constrained by their origins, then, New Zealanders were more likely to approach people and demand attention. Dan Davin's novel *The Sullen Bell* speaks of these "confident colonials" who had come to conquer London, and who were "sure

[30] Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Cresset Library, 1986), p. 50; Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 49.
[31] Felicity Barnes, p. 44.

that because they didn't have to stick to the rules they would get all the breaks".[32] When D'Arcy Cresswell and Hector Bolitho wrote their unsolicited letters to T. E. Lawrence and G. K. Chesterton with whom they were not personally acquainted, they were exhibiting this tendency to ignore the conventions of English society.[33]

Not being as strictly bound by convention gave New Zealanders more options, but sometimes their lack of knowledge or respect for convention could cause problems. An Australian reporter mentioned the little, unimportant things that Australians were not too precise about but were "life and death" to a respectable Englander. He wrote: "I remember one of us was sent to interview the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield. He went in a soft hat. Several personages were deeply pained".[34] Australians and New Zealanders often shared a healthy disregard for such intricacies of custom.

New Zealanders, whether they liked it or not, belonged to a special club and the prerequisite for membership was merely being a New Zealander. If stranded in London without contacts or support networks, New Zealanders were fortunate to have the option of grouping together with other colonial expatriates. These antipodean networks included Australians, and this gave them the numbers required to function effectively, though New Zealanders were reportedly "thick as peas" in London in 1902.[35] The networks provided colonials with support and advice from people facing the same obstacles as they did. Networks of expatriate New Zealanders and Australians were so prevalent they were dubbed "Anglo-Colonia". Plumridge writes: "Advice about 'ways and means' was always shared among expatriates and intending

[32] Dan Davin, p. 23.
[33] See page 165.
[34] George Bull, "Half a minute Interviews: No. 11", The *British-Australasian*, 22 March 1906, p.7.
[35] Frances Hodgkins to Rachel Owen Hodgkins, 13 April 1902, in Eric McCormick, *The Expatriate: A Study of Frances Hodgkins* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1954), p. 70.

expatriates", and "there was a very high degree of this sort of informal sharing of information and networking among expatriates".[36]

These networks began on the university campuses, in particular Edinburgh. In 1890 the Australasian Club there numbered 120, of whom 27 were New Zealanders. Fourteen years later, the New Zealanders were in the majority.[37] These were probably all men, though the first female undergraduates began at Edinburgh in 1892. Such networks were often utilised or even begun by New Zealand scholars overseas. J. C. Beaglehole went to London on a postgraduate scholarship and for him "Fellow students—Australians, North Americans, a South African—provided intellectual stimulation, a diverse range of interests and lively company. He was less enthusiastic about the English, though there were exceptions".[38] The group studying at Oxford found more companionship with working class or grammar school people than public schoolboys, and grouped together with the other New Zealanders, although John Mulgan did seem to be reluctant to do this. They "decided to resurrect the Hongi Club (an Auckland import—beer and talk, after sport)".[39] These colonial networks would serve them well further on in their careers.

The networks of Anglo-Colonia also functioned around clubs, notably the Lyceum, the Austral and the Australian and New Zealand Luncheon Club. The Lyceum Club was founded by Constance Smedley as a meeting place for professional women and located in Piccadilly. It became "one of the most prestigious and

---

[36] Elizabeth Plumridge, "The Negotiation of Circumstance: New Zealand Women Artists c1890-1914", PhD Thesis (Australian National University, 1985), p. 136.
[37] *Lyttelton Times*, 9 Jan 1890, p. 3, in Plumridge, pp. 136-7.
[38] Tim Beaglehole, "Beaglehole, John Cawte 1901 – 1971", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)*, http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/ (updated 22 June 2007).
[39] John Mulgan to Alan Mulgan, Oct 1934, in James McNeish, *Dance of the Peacocks: New Zealanders in Exile at the Time of Hitler and Mao Tse-tung* (Auckland: Vintage, 2003), p. 87.

influential women's clubs of the early twentieth century".[40] The Lyceum had a New Zealand Circle, of which Edith Searle Grossmann was a founding member. There she met other New Zealand authors, such as Kate Isitt, Edith Lyttleton and Dora Wilcox. She also urged Australasian authors trying to make a name for themselves in Britain to join a club or the Society of Authors, arguing that the difficulties in finding a publisher were "doubled for a colonial".[41] Here Grossmann acted as "New Zealand's literary spokeswoman" and at the Club's Colonial Circle dinner she sometimes gave readings of the work of her New Zealand friends, including Jessie Mackay, Edith Lyttleton and Blanche Baughan, and, through her involvement with the Lyceum "was most likely responsible for bringing these artists to public attention in London".[42] The New Zealand Society was formed in 1927 as a dining club.[43]

While Anglo-Colonia provided the means for Australasians to meet each other and exchange information, publications like the *British-Australasian* enabled New Zealanders and Australians to publish their addresses. This weekly magazine also provided information about the comings and goings of antipodeans in the United Kingdom and Europe. For example, on 29 March 1906 it reported the arrival of the Beauchamps to collect their daughters,[44] one of whom was Katherine Mansfield. The "Anglo New Zealand" section reported in 1906 that "Miss B. E. Baughan, of Bank's Peninsula, is on a five or six months' visit to this country. Miss Baughan used to live here some years ago, but after two visits to the colony, she has decided to make her

---

[40] Rebecca Burns, "Snapshot of a Life Reassessed: Edith Searle Grossmann", *Kōtare: New Zealand Notes and Queries* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2009), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-BurSnap-t1-body.html.
[41] Edith Searle Grossmann, *Canterbury Times*, 29 Aug 1890, p. 49, in Plumridge, p. 126.
[42] Burns.
[43] Carl Walrond, "Kiwis overseas - Staying in Britain", *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kiwis-overseas/3 (updated 4 Mar 2009).
[44] *British-Australasian*, 29 March 1906, p. 16.

home in New Zealand".[45] Another weekly newspaper, *New Zealand News UK*, was established in 1927.

New Zealand House was often a first port of call for New Zealanders in London, and many had their mail sent there. It was not uncommon to run into an acquaintance in this institution. Jane Mander commented that "the Strand [home to the New Zealand and other colonial high commissions] is known in the summer as the Dominion Promenade".[46] New Zealand House was designed as an institution to make New Zealanders at home in London, with "facilities for travellers", "reception and reading rooms, a library and poste restante service". The House also functioned as a sort of bank for servicemen on leave. Denis Glover related how he was able to get a loan of five pounds there provided he filled in a form. He found he was not allowed to write "to carry on drinking until leave has expired" under "Reasons for wanting this loan", so he had to come up with something more suitable.[47]

The support and networks provided by Anglo-Colonia were invaluable, although New Zealand and Australian writers could find themselves in an "involuntary ghetto".[48] The colonial writing world thus solved the main problem "exiles" supposedly faced: being alienated from one's community. In many ways this gave them advantages over others, as the networks of Anglo-Colonia were so widespread and easily accessible.

Anglo-Colonia was particularly important because many new arrivals had unrealistic expectations of the reception they would get from the British. They assumed their status as displaced Britons would mean their automatic acceptance because they had been raised on the idea that they had a special place in the regard of

[45] "Anglo New Zealand", *British-Australasian*, 10 May 1906, p. 17.
[46] Mander, in Driver and Gilbert, "Landscape, Space and Performance in Imperial London", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16 (1998), p. 20, in Felicity Barnes, p. 50.
[47] Denis Glover, *Hotwater Sailor and Landlubber Ho*! (Auckland: Collins, 1981), p. 153.
[48] Plumridge, p. 137.

Britons and a privileged place at the heart of the Empire. A writer in the *Press* in 1927, for example, claimed that living in Christchurch prepares one for England, and enables one to feel quite at home at "Home". New Zealand was the youngest of England's colonies, he said, "and perhaps for those reasons alone a little dearer to the mother's heart".[49] Their immersion in British culture also led them to believe it would be a seamless transition if they did visit.

In actual fact, Britons were often indifferent to New Zealanders and certainly unaware of the "special" relationship that the latter believed they shared. Fairburn wrote bitterly to Mason in 1931:

> It's so ridiculous when you come over to the Mother Country and find Mum smiling cynically at little Tommy's innocence. All those [blathers] we worship in N.Z.—patriotism, the Flag, Imperial ties (sorry—"Bonds of Empire"), & so-on, are sneered at by a good many Englishmen, and taken lightly (oh, so lightly) by the rest. They realise their small importance.[50]

Felicity Barnes cites the example of World War I nurse Ella Cooke, who wrote heatedly:

> As regards my opinion of English people it's quite altered now that I have lived amongst them. They seem to think the people in the colonies are not up to much and really don't know anything nevertheless at a time like this they ought to send all the men they can to defend England.[51]

Plumridge writes of the British being "magnificently unaware" of the actual details of the colonies. They could even be outright prejudiced against colonials. She relates that the "situation had somewhat improved since the 1870s, when any colonial was automatically blackballed from London clubs as a 'cad', but there was still in the 1890s a mild contempt".[52] Monte Holcroft felt that it was "chastening to go abroad

---

[49] "Home: A New Zealander in England". The *Press*, 8 Jan 1927.
[50] Fairburn to Mason, 22 Dec 1931, Mason papers, MS 0592/20 , *Hocken Library (HL)*, Dunedin.
[51] Felicity Barnes p. 43, quoting Cooke to Florrie, 23 July 1915, Ella Cooke Papers, 94/36.
[52] C. W. Richmond to Emily E. Richmond, 22 Sep 1878, in Plumridge, p. 135. We may doubt whether all colonials were automatically blackballed, although some undoubtedly were.

and discover how small a place these islands occupy in the seas that surround them and in the minds of continental people".[53]

Even more unaware of New Zealanders' existence were the Americans, but this actually worked in New Zealanders' favour. New Zealanders enjoyed a special status because they were unusual enough to be interesting. Some New Zealanders found that this afforded them exclusive opportunities when in America. As a New Zealander in Washington, Nelle Scanlan was something of a novelty, was invited to speak at literary luncheons, and as a result became very well connected. She went to the United States to participate in a conference as a journalist, and was initially involved in literary circles because of this. She was astonished at the ease with which social success found her, as when the British Ambassador invited her to the Embassy. She wrote to her family, "It is all so wonderful, so unexpected, so undeserved—it bewilders me", and later, "I haven't done a single thing to get this publicity—it has been absolutely thrust upon me—a sort of literary Cinderella business".[54] She was also a clever manipulator: when speaking of a man who had an interest she did not reciprocate, she said: "I don't think there is any chance of him doing much for me on the way to Washington— if I go, but he may be useful there. I haven't decided yet".[55] Her success was probably at least partly the result of opportunistic use of the novelty value that New Zealanders enjoyed.

New Zealanders were also of interest because of the social experiments the country had been involved in. Speaking of the time she attended Columbia University in New York Jane Mander said:

> Before I had been very long at the university I was quite a pet, as I was the first New Zealand student to go there and somebody told the suffrage leader

[53] Monte Holcroft, *Discovered Isles: A Trilogy* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1950), p. 17.
[54] Nelle Scanlan to her family, 28 Nov 1921, Scanlan papers, MS Papers 0232/6, *Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL)*, Wellington.
[55] Scanlan to family, 2 Nov 1921, MS Papers 0232-6, *ATL*.

> Mrs Carrie Chapman Catt about me. The full [thing] of the suffrage campaign for women was on there as it was in England, and Mrs Catt asked me to speak for her.[56]

As a result of their success in the USA, Scanlan and Mander found they were already ingratiated in London literary society when they continued on there. The connections that Scanlan made in the United States served her well across the Atlantic, as she was able to use her contacts. When she went to London, she got a book published and was invited to become a member of PEN in London as "Herman Ould, the secretary, wrote to me and invited me to join".[57]

New Zealanders' "special" status deriving from their relative lack of numbers could allow advancement. Forrestina Ross observed that the metropolis held "many Aladdin's caves [for which] there is an open sesame in London in the password, 'the Colonies'".[58] Purely being a New Zealander could open doors like this. The reason Hector Bolitho was invited to tea with John Middleton Murry was only because, he said, he came from the same country as Murry's wife, Katherine Mansfield, who had died the previous January.[59] John Mulgan and Dan Davin got their lucrative jobs with Oxford University Press largely because they were New Zealanders. They were head-hunted while still at Oxford by Kenneth Sisam, an expatriate New Zealander who presided over recruitment at the Press and was keen on the idea of creating a posse of clever New Zealanders.[60] Dorothea Turner speculates that Jane Mander's successful application for admission to the new Colombia School of Journalism in New York was "bolster[ed]" by her nationality because of what New Zealanders stood for as "leaders in social legislation".[61] Eric Baume wrote that "I found in Europe that being a

---

[56] Jane Mander, Talk to the Lyceum Club, 8 June 1933, NZMS 535, *APL*..
[57] Nelle Scanlan to Alan Mulgan, Christmas Day, c1959, MS Papers 0224-11, *ATL*.
[58] Ross, *Around the World,* p.73, in Felicity Barnes, p. 46
[59] Hector Bolitho, *My Restless Years* (London: Parrish, 1962), p. 94.
[60] O'Sullivan (2003), p. 145.
[61] Dorothea Turner, *Jane Mander* (New York: Twayne, 1972), p. 23.

New Zealander and an Australian was a great help because they respected our individual point of view".[62]

Complaints about New Zealand writers being disadvantaged as outsiders are not convincing when it is acknowledged that in a lot of cases New Zealanders were the very *insiders* being complained about. Ngaere in Isabel Peacocke's work echoes Jane Mander in claiming to be unable to compete with "nasty Oxbridge graduates", creating a picture of "exile" within the metropolis. Yet in some cases, the so-called "exiled" New Zealand writers were these very same Oxford graduates. James McNeish's group of "exiles" consisted entirely of people who attended Oxford, including Dan Davin and John Mulgan. James Courage and Charles Brasch also graduated from Oxford. Davin and Mulgan both had insider careers in the literary world (though Mulgan's was cut short by his early death). Davin in particular presided over a healthy network of New Zealand notables that he and Winnie would hold court over at the local Gardeners Arms in Oxford. Study somewhere like Oxford was likely to open up further opportunities. Davin, while there, "crystallised his ambition to be a writer, beginning work on his first novel". Writers may not always have achieved everything they wanted while in England, but this was not the result of their being outsiders or exiles.

New Zealanders' novelty value extended to the selling power of their work, and they had access to an entire genre that was not available to non-colonials. New Zealand material was a popular sub-set of a staple of the colonial writing world: the colonial exotic. Even in the case of poetry, which was notoriously difficult to sell to publishers, New Zealand content sometimes had a special appeal. For D'Arcy Cresswell, in England selling poems door-to-door, a "'sales technique' was to declare

[62] Baume to Lawlor, 14 Sept 1959, Lawlor papers, 77-067 1/5, *ATL*.

himself to be a 'New Zealand poet'".[63] R. A. K. Mason tried to tap into the novelty factor when he wrote to Robert Graves: "If you do publish, I think you can rely on a fair number of extraordinary sales owing to the fact that I am a New Zealander. For one thing, it is so remarkable that anyone here should do anything decent. Again, there are a fair number of collectors here who will buy it just to add to their collection of New Zealand books, even if they do not appreciate it".[64]

Almost all of the writers I have mentioned created work in a New Zealand setting, or with colonial characters in an English setting. Rather than ceasing to be New Zealand writers when they left New Zealand, they found that moving to England did not change the fact that they wanted to write about New Zealand, and they continued to do this, while functioning as part of the colonial writing world. Jane Mander said that "there is no prejudice here, I find, against outsiders in the story world, and English magazines are becoming increasingly friendly to stories with an overseas setting".[65] While Louisa Baker complained to a New Zealand magazine in 1903 that in Britain "a story with an English setting is three times the value in London, commercially, of one with a colonial background",[66] she still persevered in this genre when in London, encouraged, it is said, by the example of the South African Olive Schreiner. Her decision was probably a wise one. When Jane Mander moved to London and had to write books in order to survive financially, she set them in New York and London and Paris. However, "though technically accomplished",[67] they were not as successful as her New Zealand books and she returned home

[63] W. S. Broughton, *A. R. D. Fairburn* (Wellington: Reed, 1968), p. 11.
[64] Mason to Robert Graves, 17 March 1932, Correspondence re. *No New Thing*, MS 990/91, *HL*.
[65] Jane Mander, "On Making Good", The *Sun* , 4 Dec 1924, p. 8.
[66] "Alien", Sandra Kemp, Charlotte Mitchell and David Trotter, *The Oxford Companion to Edwardian Fiction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, c1997).
[67] Rae McGregor, "Mander, Mary Jane 1877 – 1949", *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007).

disillusioned. She remarked later that "well-thought out stories of pioneer life from anywhere would receive a good hearing" from publishers in London.[68]

Table 5.2 shows the location of New Zealand authors on the publication of their books between 1890 and 1945 (excluding 213 where this information is not available, and the work of Fergus Hume), sorted by the content of the book.

Table 5.2: Author location vs. book content 1890-1945

Author location	All or mostly NZ content	Some NZ content	No NZ content	Unknown content	Total
Australia	14	2	26	6	48
Europe	1	0	0	4	5
New Zealand	184	42	82	39	347
United Kingdom	43	2	38	15	98
United States	5	0	1	1	7
Total	247	46	147	65	505

The majority of these books contained New Zealand content. This is predictable for those written in New Zealand, but of the 83 books written in the United Kingdom whose content is known, 45 had at least some New Zealand content: fully 54 per cent. Clearly, being in a particular location did not stop New Zealand writers from writing about New Zealand. Nor did New Zealand content put off British publishers.

Writers did not have to forfeit their New Zealandness and remained contributors to the New Zealand literary scene even when in London. Overseas writers often sent back material to New Zealand publications and to New Zealand "bookmen" for evaluation. The poems of overseas writers appeared in local newspapers. Geoffrey de Montalk, despite his expressed distaste for New Zealand literary periodicals, sent back poems to New Zealand and when informed by Rex Fairburn that one had been used by the *Sun* he wrote back: "I'm glad the Sun has used

[68] Jane Mander, "Modern Authorship—Conditions Abroad: What the Publishers Want", Auckland *Star*, 27 Oct 1932.

"Return to London".[69] Writers also wrote reports on their experiences overseas for New Zealand papers. Monte Holcroft wrote a series called "Who Travels Alone: The Adventures of a Low-Brow Novelist", for the *Sun* which appeared in 1929. Ngaio Marsh contributed "A New Canterbury Pilgrim" as a series of articles which appeared in the Christchurch *Press* and were syndicated to other newspapers. The activities of New Zealand writers overseas were widely reported in New Zealand, as when the *New Zealand News* in 1930 reported that "Count Geoffrey de Montalk, whose title is an ancient Polish one, recently paid a visit of two months to Lithuania".[70] Louisa Baker, from 1903, "maintained her New Zealand connection" by writing a weekly column called "Alien's Letter From England" for the Otago Witness. This was "eagerly read".[71]

Most New Zealand writers who went overseas still remained very much in contact with New Zealand through the same colonial writing world networks they utilised while in New Zealand. Networks, by their very nature, do not just work one way, and information was transported to the metropolitan centre from the periphery as well as from the periphery to the centre. Very few of the writers went overseas with the intention of renouncing their "New Zealandness", and because of these networks they did not have to become "exiles". As Felicity Barnes says of Lawrence Jones' connection of expatriatism with "silence or expatriation": "whilst struggle was certainly a factor for many writers, the association of expatriation with 'silence' and 'withdrawal' is not necessarily an accurate reflection of their experience".[72] Indeed, as we have seen, it was certainly possible for writers to be successful in England while retaining links to New Zealand.

---

[69] Geoffrey de Montalk to Fairburn, 5 Apr 1929, Fairburn papers, MS Papers 1128/10, *ATL*.
[70] *New Zealand News*, 28 Jan 1930, in Stephanie de Montalk, p. 102.
[71] Janet McCallum, "Baker, Louisa Alice – Biography", *DNZB* (updated 1 Sep 2010).
[72] Felicity Barnes, p. 105.

Writers in New Zealand used letters to maintain contact with the wider world, and they also used them to maintain ties to the New Zealand literary scene. While in London, Jane Mander wrote to writers at home with advice and literary criticism. Those who benefited included Monte Holcroft. Hector Bolitho, so often used as an example of someone who removed himself from the New Zealand literary scene, retained contacts with New Zealand. He returned several times, he communicated with Pat Lawlor by letter, he asked to be kept informed of literary developments, and he expressed interest in appearing in a New Zealand publication, saying in 1966 "I still have a strange vanity about appearing in a New Zealand magazine". He was more concerned by his reviews in New Zealand than those from elsewhere (even though the ones in Britain were generally more positive). Writers going overseas were unlikely to sever all contact with their home, even after many years. As Eric Baume explained after a long time abroad, "I have kept in touch with New Zealand for so many years because it is my home country and my father was born there just on a hundred years ago".[73]

While overseas, writers and other artists often still identified strongly with New Zealand. Katherine Mansfield was said to wear a *tiki* and own several other Māori artefacts. Frances Hodgkins, too, was "very much aware of herself as a New Zealander" and "as a badge of nationality she wore a Maori *tiki*".[74] It was the New Zealand art community in London that she relied on to come to her exhibitions, and she seemed to be overly concerned about the opinion of the New Zealand public.

The same publications that facilitated the internal workings of colonial networks in London also kept New Zealanders informed about what was going on at home. This further enhanced their participation in the colonial writing world. The

[73] Eric Baume to Lawlor, 14 Sept 1959, 77-067 1/5, *ATL*.
[74] McCormick (1954), p. 121.

British-Australasian (later the *British Australian and New Zealander*) was largely concerned with printing general news from home for New Zealanders and Australians living in London. The *British-Australasian* served as a voice for the expatriate literary community. It printed news about literary goings-on at home, as in the issue of 11 January 1906 which reported the death of the popular Australian poet, Victor J. Daley.[75] The 25 January 1906 issue also reprinted for the benefit of Australian and New Zealand readers overseas extracts from some of the stories and poems printed in the Christmas numbers of the leading Australasian weeklies. They included a poem called "The Man From Maoriland" by W. T. Goodge.[76]

New Zealand writers in London were still very much involved in New Zealand literary circles. It was just that a portion of these circles had relocated to England. Indeed, James Courage became involved with these circles only when he went to England; it has been said of him that "perhaps paradoxically, it was in London that he became immersed in the New Zealand literary scene, as a result of meeting many of the New Zealand writers visiting England at the time".[77] There, the Lyceum Club functioned as a meeting place for suffragists, writers, and artists. Edith Grossmann helped organise the Club's Colonial Circle and was on the council of the Circle's New Zealand section.[78] In this capacity she attended the Circle's inaugural dinner "where she gave a lecture about the current status of New Zealand literature".[79] It is testimony to the amount of involvement New Zealanders in London had in New Zealand literary life to hear that the literary periodical *Landfall* was a result of Brasch and Glover

---

[75] "Death of an Australian Poet", The *British-Australasian*, 11 Jan 1906, p.18.
[76] *British-Australasian*, 25 Jan 1906, p. 18.
[77] Philip Steer, "James Courage, 1903-1953", *Kotāre 2008, Special Issue – Essays in New Zealand Literary Biography Series Two: "Early Male Prose Writers",* http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi072Kota-t1-g1-t20.html.
[78] *Evening Post*, 2 Dec 1908.
[79] *Evening Post*, 4 Aug 1909.

meeting up: “It was in fact on Hampstead Heath one morning that we laid plans for the foundation of *Landfall* when and should the war end”.[80]

Membership of the colonial literary world allowed New Zealanders to participate in the London literary scene from New Zealand, but also to remain involved with New Zealand while in London. Far from being permanently dislocated from New Zealand, writers often remained physically in contact with New Zealand by visiting, or returning. This further strengthened and added to the links made by the colonial expansion in the first place, and is a physical representation of the way the colonial writing world worked. This is a picture very different from the image of literary exiles gradually losing touch with New Zealand. Writers overseas were not lost to the New Zealand literary scene, and many returned to make important contributions to local initiatives.

[80] Denis Glover (1981), p. 173.

Conclusion

From England in 1932 Rex Fairburn wrote to Ron Mason in a manner that contrasted sharply with the earlier sentiments he had expressed about being desperate to leave New Zealand. He wrote:

> I'd like to go back to N.Z. and be a New Zealander. Not a wistful student of French Impressionism and Post Impressionism as some of our young artists would apparently wish to be. Not a follower of the Bolshevik Revolution—which is about as irrelevant to N.Z. as ham to a synagogue feast. Not a student of Anglo-Irish decadence—of Virginia Woolf, James Joyce & c. But just a New Zealander. I would like to live in the backblocks of N.Z. and try to realise in my mind the real culture of that country.[1]

Previously Fairburn had demonstrated noticeably different feelings about being stuck in the "intellectual rat-hole" that was New Zealand. He could not wait to leave and join the crowds of people trying to make their way in the United Kingdom. His time in England, it appears, had caused him to change his mind about his native country, and reverse his attitude to New Zealand and writing.

Fairburn's about-turn is not, actually, surprising. The realisation that London's literary opportunities were not exponentially better brought the New Zealand scene more sharply into focus for some writers. It became clear that there were advantages to being in New Zealand and that many of London's advantages had been available to them all along. The writers who went to England because they, like Frank Sargeson, expressed a feeling of being "separated from the sources of culture that had meaning for [them]",[2] often realised on arrival that this was folly, as they were not separated culturally from England and there was no distinct advantage to being physically in the same place as the objects of culture. Some found they disliked the pretentious ways of the London literati and preferred the more unassuming, straightforward colonial way.

---

[1] Fairburn to Mason, 6 Jan 1932, Mason papers, MS Papers 592/18, *Hocken Library (HL)*, Dunedin.
[2] Frank Sargeson, *Sargeson* (Auckland: Penguin, 1981), p. 63.

Fairburn came to realise that it was the "simplest realities" that were important as opposed to the "rather frenetic climate" of London.[3] Many writers came to the conclusion that London perhaps was not as great as the rumours suggested, for like Sargeson, they "had tried London and found it wanting". [4]

Colonial networks and links meant that New Zealand remained in the forefront of the minds of writers overseas. Some writers actually had more contact with other New Zealand writers in London than they did in New Zealand. Literary friendships were made and literary business was conducted, including the invention of the influential literary journal *Landfall* by Charles Brasch and Denis Glover on Hampstead Heath. Writers who were already friends sought each other out and introduced each other. They continued to function as part of the New Zealand literary scene while in London, and even promoted writers from "back home", as when Edith Grossmann promoted the poetry of Jessie Mackay and others at Lyceum Club dinners. Often it was being in England that brought New Zealand more sharply into focus in the understanding of those who had left. They became aware of being New Zealanders in ways they had not previously apprehended, and comparisons with the English highlighted the value of their colonial difference. Frank Sargeson famously was to remark: "Like so many of my fellow countrymen I had to visit Europe to discover that I was truly a New Zealander".[5]

For some this discovery was dealt with by writing about New Zealand, and many writers who never actually went back to New Zealand wrote about the land in which they had grown up. Even Katherine Mansfield eventually came to embrace her colonial past, writing her most successful stories about New Zealand. After the death

[3] Denys Trussell, *Fairburn* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1984), p. 100.
[4] James Bertram, *Dan Davin* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 5.
[5] Frank Sargeson, *Sargeson* (Auckland: Penguin, 1981), p. 63.

of her brother she was overcome by nostalgia and found that she wanted to write of her "own country" and make it "leap into the eyes of the Old World".[6]

Others returned home, and with a renewed zeal for New Zealand writing. Upon immersing himself in all the intellectual fare the British Library had to offer and finding it weighty and potentially irrelevant, Sargeson came to the realisation that he was "determined to make his own literary effort in his own country",[7] though he had also run out of money. Monte Holcroft's experiences in England had a similar effect, and he remarked in *The Deepening Stream*: "I had come back from England with a new feeling about my native country".[8] Jane Mander wrote to Pat Lawlor the year before she left England for New Zealand, "I have a hankering now to get back to my original environment in writing. Apparently no-one else will ever be able to do that gum country of the north which is in my blood and bones".[9] John Mulgan, too, expressed a wish to engage with the literary implications of being in New Zealand, and wrote to his mother in 1934 that "We must all end up back in a few years' time, say 1940, prepared to do something".[10]

Mulgan was not to return home due to his early death, but many of his compatriots did, and some did in fact "do something". Several writers and associates put their energy into creating a local publishing infrastructure, building on the earlier efforts of Denis Glover in the Students Association's basement at Canterbury College. This was where the Caxton Club first began its printing ventures, and out of this the Caxton Press was born. Glover ended his time in the navy and gave up the

---

[6] Katherine Mansfield, Journal, in Anthony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 195.
[7] Bertram (1983), p. 5.
[8] Monte Holcroft, *The Deepening Stream* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1940), p.12.
[9] Jane Mander, letter to Pat Lawlor, May 12, the year not given but internal evidence points to 1931, in Dorothea Turner, *Jane Mander* (New York: Twayne, 1972), p. 31
[10] Mulgan to his mother, Vincent O'Sullivan, *Long Journey to the Border* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003), p. 120.

excitements of London to "return home to the responsibilities of a literary publishing career, his true vocation".[11] From the mid-1930s there was the deliberate creation of a national publishing industry which did not rely on external market forces. Before that, local publishing had really been a supplement for the publishing opportunities available in England. Other initiatives coincided with Glover's effort, like the Unicorn Press, which was set up by Bob Lowry. With Donald Holloway, Lowry printed D'Arcy Cresswell's *Lyttelton Harbour* and Sargeson's *Conversation With My Uncle*.[12] The group responsible for these initiatives was largely made up of cultural nationalists who claimed that they had founded "genuine New Zealand literature". These claims to be the founders of their country's literature are dubious, but the deliberate construction of a local publishing industry certainly influenced the course of New Zealand literature and literary scholarship. The Caxton Press was willing to take risks because of a "resolute commitment to the arts in New Zealand",[13] and because it was anxious to serve high-brow local literary aims.

Those who were disappointed by their experiences in London tended to blame prejudices against their colonial origins for their failures. Rather than succumbing to the pressure to become "exiles" (which they thought was their only option), they found that this experience often served to crystallise their nationalist impulses. What was really just the discovery of the reality of the cruel fate awaiting all but the most fortunate or talented writers in a different environment was sometimes interpreted as discrimination. They believed English literary circles were not interested in New Zealanders and neither were publishers. Some reacted stubbornly and chose to

[11] Gordon Ogilvie, *Denis Glover: His Life* (Auckland: Godwit, 1999), p. 209.
[12] From 1934 the firm known as A. H. & A. W. Reed began publishing occasional novels and works of poetry (20 between 1934 and 1945) but they were initially better known for non-fiction.
[13] Noel Waite, *Adventure and Art: The Caxton Press* (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand, 1998), p. 5.

embrace their colonial differences, and dismissed the rumours about England's special literary properties.

Many writers assumed that because London was so indifferent to their cause, New Zealand national writing must be being held back by reliance on overseas publishing. The efforts of Glover and others therefore took on a great significance for nationalism. There was a new zeal for New Zealand writing unbeholden to foreign tastes and markets. This served as an antidote to the frustrations that some people encountered in London. Eric McCormick, in England, noted the irrelevance of English modernism to New Zealand literature, and wanted to go back home and help build New Zealand culture.[14] The difficulties of publication were instrumental in inspiring the creation of local infrastructure that would eventually allow New Zealand writers to cut many of their ties to England and not have to rely on English publishers quite so much.

According to cultural nationalist lore, overseas publishing was preventing local growth, and making New Zealanders exiles in their own country. It was the cultural nationalists, many of them returning "exiles", who came to dominate the literary scene in the late 30s and 40s. They promoted local initiatives and the fostering of an "essential New Zealandness" in literature, and they dismissed the many works that had been published under the auspices of the colonial writing world either because the writers were no longer in New Zealand or because, for them, overseas publishing did not count. In this way the role of the colonial writing world in the creation of New Zealand literature was obscured from view.

Of course, the idea of creating writing distinctive to New Zealand was not invented by the cultural nationalists and the returning "exiles". Blanche Baughan was

---

[14] James Smithies, "Modernism or Exile: E. H. McCormick and *Letters and Art in New Zealand*", *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 39:3 (2004), p. 95.

a writer firmly placed by the cultural nationalists in the earlier set of writers. In 1912, however, she published "Café au Lait" in the volume of short stories *Brown Bread from a Colonial Oven*. In this story Baughan metaphorically emphasised the growth of an unselfconscious new literature in the new country, though of course its roots were unmistakably in the old one: "The old bush that bore it came of stock that had crossed the ocean more than half a century before; but what did this little bough care about that?—its blossoms were new this year".[15] Writing about the project of a distinctive national culture was nothing new. Jessie Mackay's earliest book of poems, published in 1889, included in the introduction her hope for "the dawning of a national spirit".[16] As Charlotte Elder mentions, Ursula Bethell used the New Zealand condition to provide contrast in her work as she juxtaposed the exotic and the native,[17] often achieving a peaceful synthesis. An example is one of her most famous poems, "The Long Harbour", from *Time and Place.* In this she wrote of the "blackbird, happy colonist," and the "blacker, sweeter-fluted tui" that "echo / either the other's song".[18] This was not a concern invented by the cultural nationalists, but by their predecessors within the colonial writing world who loved New Zealand as their home within the wider British Empire.

Women like Baughan and Mackay were not at the forefront of the cultural nationalists' new world order, although they contributed greatly to writing in New Zealand. The cultural nationalist model was narrowly focused on a masculine definition of the quintessential New Zealander. Women writers were to a large extent disenfranchised, and disappeared from the forefront of the writing community. This

---

[15] Blanche Baughan, "Café Au Lait" (Brown Bread From a Colonial Oven), in O. N. Gillespie (ed.), *New Zealand Short Stories* (London: Dent, 1930), pp. 38; 48-9.
[16] Jessie Mackay, *The Spirit of the Rangatira and Other Ballads* (Melbourne: Robertson, 1889).
[17] Charlotte Elder, "Dear Mr Schroder: An Annotated Edition of the Correspondence Between Ursula Bethell and John Schroder", MA Thesis (Victoria University, 1999), p. 22.
[18] Ursula Bethell, "The Long Harbour", *Time and Place* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1936).

was encouraged by the misogynistic (or at least belittling) attitudes of the cultural nationalists themselves. Bethell's poetry addressed the difficulty of writing about New Zealand, and as a result she was adopted as a forerunner by Curnow. Even she did not escape this literary oppression, however, as when D'Arcy Cresswell reviewed her book of verse, *Time and Place*, in *Tomorrow*. He praised the work, but was critical that she sometimes attempted "too much intellectually", as "it is the men who must matter in the long run, of course".[19] The sidelining of women writers was not reflected in the amount of material actually published by women, as this was consistent throughout the period.[20]

The champions of these women were the bookmen of the previous generation who were now represented as holding back the development of New Zealand literature. The amount of control they had over publishing in New Zealand made it seem to Denis Glover that Mulgan, Marris and Schroder were the men "who hold within their hand / the literary of the land".[21]

In fact, it was under the reign of the cultural nationalists that literature became much more insular. The writing that was published was focused on one particular aspect of "New Zealandness". A criterion was localness, which made the work necessarily provincial in its focus. There was a new ruling cultural elite whose ranks were difficult to penetrate, and this group was based in the universities, whereas before, writing had been fostered by the newspapers. It could be argued that literature thus became more highbrow and less democratic and accessible.[22]

---

[19] Elder, p. 14.
[20] The percentage of books published by women remained in the vicinity of fifty per cent between 1920 and 1940 (if Fergus Hume's contribution is not included in the calculation), though it did drop to 38 per cent between 1940 and 1944.
[21] Denis Glover, *The Arraignment of Paris* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1937).
[22] Derek Challis makes this point throughout his work. Derek Challis and Gloria Rawlinson, *The Book of Iris* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002).

The previous generation's approach may have looked limited, but this was because the cultural nationalists were ignoring the much wider spectrum of opportunities made possible by the colonial writing world. As a result of this, the cultural nationalists were actually "remarkably ignorant" of their own country's literature and what had gone before.[23] Ignoring the connections to the colonial writing world probably made writers feel more like exiles, rather than less.

Although the cultural nationalists wanted to assert their own importance in the development of New Zealand literature, without the colonial writing world that facilitated literary conversations with Britain and allowed New Zealanders to stay in touch with the literary scene in New Zealand their own contribution would never have come about. Although they would never have admitted it, it was the colonial writing world that fostered their own literary development. The efforts of Curnow and friends owed a great deal to the British literary tradition that had been passed on and nurtured through the colonial writing world.

The concept of the colonial writing world is vital to any explanation of early New Zealand literature and the subsequent emergence of cultural nationalism. British colonialism has shaped the modern world in very obvious ways, and for this reason studies of the colonial writing world could profitably be extended to other colonial nations. Australia is an example of a nation whose literary history revolves around British traditions that were spurned by a later generation of nationalists, and as a result of this Australia has been used as a parallel example throughout this study. Australian writers were participants in the colonial writing world, along with New Zealanders, and their literary history has been dominated in a similar way by the proponents of nationalism. South African and Canadian writers interacted with the metropolitan

[23] Keith Sinclair mentions this in *A Destiny Apart* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. 246, according to Patrick Evans, *Penguin History of New Zealand Literature* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), p. 78.

centre, and these countries' respective literary histories may well benefit from the illuminating concept of the colonial writing world. These countries faced additional complications due to the legacy of competing colonial powers and resulting linguistic and ethnic divisions, and would make a fascinating study. It remains to be seen to whether the colonial writing world was as crucial to the literature of other countries touched by British colonialism as it was to New Zealand's.

Appendix A: Books published by New Zealand writers 1890-1945

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type[1]	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
"Babbie the Egyptian"		Gleams and Glooms	N	1905	NZ – Dunedin	Stark
"Monowai"		Lady Karine	N	1904	NZ – Wellington	Wright & Carman
Acheson	Frank	The Plume of the Arawas	N	1930	UK – London	Dent
Adams	Arthur	Maoriland	P	1899	Aus – Sydney	Bulletin
Adams	Arthur	The Nazarene	P	1902	UK – London	Philip Wellby
Adams	Arthur	The Tussock Land	N	1904	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Adams	Arthur	London Streets	P	1906	UK – London	Foulis
Adams	Arthur	The New Chum	SS	1909	Aus – Sydney	N.S.W. Bookstall Co.
Adams	Arthur	Galahad Jones	N	1910	UK – London	Bodley Head
Adams	Arthur	A Touch of Fantasy	N	1912	UK – London	Bodley Head
Adams	Arthur	Collected Verses	P	1913	Aus – Melbourne	Whitcombe & Tombs
Adams	Arthur	Grocer Greatheart	N	1915	UK – London	Bodley Head
Adams	Arthur	Honeymoon Dialogues	N	1916	UK – London	Eveleigh Nash & Grayson
Adams	Arthur	The Australians	N	1920	UK – London	Eveleigh Nash & Grayson
Adams	Arthur	Man's Life	N	1929	UK – London	Eveleigh Nash & Grayson
Aggers	James	The Dawn of Hope	SS	1914	NZ – Wellington	Worker Print
Aldis	Morton	Thoughts on Anzac day	P	1930	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Allen	Charles	The Child in the Sun	P	1912	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Allen	Charles	Brown Smock	N	1926	UK – London	Frederick Warne & Co.
Allen	Charles	Tarry, Knight!	N	1927	UK – London	Hamilton
Allen	Charles	Darley Steps	P	1931	UK – London	Authors' Press
Allen	Charles	Cinna the Poet	P	1932	UK – Henley	Authors' Press

[1] Type: N = novel; P = volume of poetry; SS = collection of short stories.

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Allen	Charles	A Poor Scholar	N	1936	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Allen	Charles	Hedge Sparrow	N	1937	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Allen	Charles	The Young Pretender	N	1939	UK – London	Massie
Allen	Charles	Just Christmas	P	1941	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Allen	Charles	The Christmas Tree	P	1945	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Andersen	Johannes	Songs Unsung	P	1903	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Andersen	Johannes	The Lamp of Psyche	P	1908	Aus – Melbourne	Lothian
Andersen	Johannes	New Zealand Tales	SS	1927	NZ – Wellington	Ferguson & Osborn
Andersen	Johannes	The Elfin Dell	P	1934	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Andrews	Isobel	Something to Tell	SS	1944	NZ – Wellington	Progressive Publishing Society
Anthony	Frank	Follow the Call	N	1936	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Anthony	Frank	Me and Gus	SS	1938	NZ – Hawera	Hawera Star
Ashworth	Henry	The Fairies' Secret Wishing Well	P	1928	NZ – Wellington	L. T. Watkins
August	Samuel	A Trinket of Rhyme	P	1913	Aus – Melbourne	Australasian Authors' Agency
August	Samuel	Princes Street	P	1917	NZ – Dunedin	Stark
August	Samuel	Stewart Island Verses	P	1923	NZ – Invercargill	Craft Agency
August	Samuel	The Oreti Anthology	P	1933	NZ – Invercargill	Georgian Bookshop
August	Samuel	Song of the Children of Leda	P	1935	NZ – Invercargill	Georgian Bookshop
Baker	Louisa	A Daughter of the King	N	1894	UK – London	Hutchinson
Baker	Louisa	The Majesty of Man	N	1895	UK – London	Hutchinson
Baker	Louisa	In Golden Shackles	N	1896	UK – London	Hutchinson
Baker	Louisa	Wheat in the Ear	N	1898	UK – London	Hutchinson
Baker	Louisa	The Untold Half	N	1899	UK – London	Hutchinson
Baker	Louisa	Looking–glass Hours	N	1899	UK – London	Hutchinson
Baker	Louisa	The Devil's Half–Acre	N	1900	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Baker	Louisa	Another Woman's Territory	N	1901	UK – London	Constable

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Baker	Louisa	Not in Fellowship	N	1902	UK – London	Digby, Long
Baker	Louisa	Over the Barriers	N	1903	UK – London	Isbister
Baker	Louisa	A Slum Heroine	N	1904	UK – London	Digby, Long
Baker	Louisa	An Unanswered Question	SS	1906	UK – London	Digby, Long
Baker	Louisa	His Neighbour's Landmark	N	1907	UK – London	Digby, Long
Baker	Louisa	The Perfect Union	N	1908	UK – London	Digby, Long
Baker	Louisa	An Unread Letter	N	1909	UK – London	Digby, Long
Baker	Louisa	A Double Blindness	N	1910	UK – London	Digby, Long
Baker	Louisa	A Maid of Mettle	N	1913	UK – London	Digby, Long
Bakewell	Robert	A Coaster’s Freight	P	1915	NZ – New Plymouth	Avery
Bakewell	Robert	The Lost Tribute	N	1926	UK – London	Hodder & Stoughton
Bathgate	Alexander	Far South Fancies	P	1890	UK – London	Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh
Bathgate	Alexander	The Legend of the Wandering Lake	P	1905	NZ – Dunedin	Stark
Bathgate	Alexander	Sodger Sandy's Bairn	N	1913	Aus – Sydney	N.S.W. Bookstall Co.
Batten	Marieda	Silver Nights	P	1920	NZ – Auckland	Business Printing World
Batten	Marieda	Maori Love Legends	P	1920	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
Baughan	Blanche	Verses	P	1898	UK – Westminster	Constable
Baughan	Blanche	Reuben	P	1903	UK – Westminster	Constable
Baughan	Blanche	Shingle–Short and Other Verse	P	1908	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Baughan	Blanche	Brown Bread from a Colonial Oven	SS	1912	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Baughan	Blanche	Poems From the Port Hills	P	1923	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Baume	Eric	Half-Caste	N	1933	Aus – Sydney	Macquarie Head
Baume	Eric	Burnt Sugar	N	1934	Aus – Sydney	Macquarie Head
Baume	Eric	Sydney Duck	N	1944	UK – London	Hutchinson
Baxter	James	Beyond the Palisade	P	1944	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Beaglehole	John	Words For Music	P	1938	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Bell	John	In the Shadow of the Bush	N	1899	UK – London	Sands
Bell	Henry	Camp Fire Recitations	P	1915	UK – London	Walter Scott Publishing
Bethell	Ursula	From a Garden in the Antipodes	P	1929	UK – London	Sidgwick & Jackson
Bethell	Ursula	Time and Place	P	1936	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Bethell	Ursula	Day and Night	P	1939	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Bickerton	Alexander	Old Grind's Christmas Eves	N	1899	NZ – Christchurch	Lyttelton Times
Binswanger	Otti	And How Do You Like This Country?	SS	1945	NZ – Christchurch	Walter Brookes
Blacke	Sara	Flights from the Land of the Bell-bird and Rata	SS	1900	NZ – Auckland	Wildman
Blacke	Sara	The Dean's Romance	SS	1928	NZ – Dunedin	N.Z. Tablet
Blair	Mary	Kowhai Blossoms	P	1929	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Blair	Mary	By Pacific Waters	SS	1932	UK – London	Stockwell
Blochairn	Robin	Singin' to the Weans	P	1917	UK – Paisley	Gardner
Blochairn	Robin	A Ploughman's Dream	P	1919	UK – Paisley	Gardner
Blochairn	Robin	The Fireside Clime	P	1920	UK – Paisley	Gardner
Bodie	Eliza	Thoughts in Rhyme	P	1911	Aus – Melbourne	Austral
Bolitho	Hector	Solemn Boy	N	1927	UK – London	Chatto & Windus
Bolitho	Hector	Judith Silver	N	1929	UK – London	Knopf
Bolitho	Hector	The Flame on Ethirdova	N	1930	UK – London	Cobden-Sanderson
Bolitho	Hector	The House in Half Moon Street.	SS	1930	UK – London	Herbert Jenkins
Bowden	Boyce	Wellington Verses	P	1917	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Bowden	Boyce	Roads and Fairies	P	1918	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Boyd-Bayly	Elizabeth	A New Zealand Courtship	SS	1896	UK – London	Religious Tract Society (UK)
Bracken	Thomas	Musings in Maoriland	P	1890	NZ – Dunedin	Keirle
Bracken	Thomas	Lays and Lyrics	P	1893	NZ – Wellington	Brown, Thomson & Co
Bracken	Thomas	Not Understood	P	1905	NZ – Auckland	Brown
Brasch	Charles	The Land and the People	P	1939	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Bridgford	Samuel	Verses of a Vagabond	P	1924	UK – London	Macdonald
Bridgford	Samuel	Dunedin	P	1936	NZ – New Plymouth	Avery
Brodie	John	The Little Country	N	1935	UK – London	T. Nelson
Brodie	John	So They Began	N	1936	UK – London	T. Nelson
Brookfield	Helen	The Fugitives	P	1939	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Brown	John Macmillan	Riallaro: the Archipelago of Exiles	N	1901	US – New York	Putnam
Brown	John Macmillan	Limanora, the Island of Progress	N	1903	US – New York	Putnam
Brown	George	The Triumph of Brass	P	1914	NZ – Levin	Horowhenua
Brown	George	The Lay of the Bantry Bay	P	1917	NZ – Levin	Horowhenua
Buchanan	Edith	The Song of the Christmas Tree	P	1908	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Bullock	Margaret	Utu: a Story of Love, Hate and Revenge	N	1894	NZ – Auckland	Brett
Burdon	Randal	Outlaw's Progress	N	1943	NZ – Wellington	Progressive Publishing Society
Burn	David	Cantilenosae Nugae	P	1891	UK – London	Eden, Remington & Co
Burn	David	Ode for Peace Day	P	1904	NZ – Dunedin	Stark
Burn	David	Eggs and Olives	P	1930	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Burn	David	Soundings	P	1931	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Burn	David	Pedlar's Pack	P	1932	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Burn	David	Flax and Fernseed	P	1933	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Burr	Betty	The Better Way	P	1918	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Burton	Olga	With Joyous Sound	P	1944	NZ – Auckland	Oswald-Sealy
Butler	William	Poems	P	1930	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Butler	Kathleen	Dunedin	P	1934	UK – Ilfracombe	Stockwell
Cadey	Prudence	Claudia Decides	N	1928	UK – London	Constable
Cadey	Prudence	Broken Pattern	N	1933	UK – London	Fenland Press
Cameron	Bertha	In Fair New Zealand	N	1899	NZ – Dunedin	NZ Bible, Tract and Book Society
Cameron	Norman	Nature's Melody	P	1935	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Cannon	Frances	Ierne O'Neal	N	1911	NZ – Christchurch,	Whitcombe & Tombs
Carman	Dulce	The Broad Stairway	N	1924	UK – London	Ouseley
Carr	Clyde	Poems	P	1944	NZ – Wellington	Progressive Publishing Society
Castle	Ronald	Fleeting Music	P	1937	NZ – Wellington	Wright & Carman
Castle	Ronald	Arcadian Grove	P	1939	NZ – Wellington	Wright & Carman
Chamberlin	Thomas	Songs From the Forest of Tane	P	1912	UK – London	Mathews
Chambers	Francis	The New Chum	P	1903	UK – London	Griffiths
Chamier	George	Philosopher Dick	N	1891	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Chamier	George	A South-sea Siren	N	1895	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Chapman-Cohen	George	Poems	P	1939	UK – London	Stockwell
Charlton	Mary	Blue Bowl	P	1938	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Christie	John	Poems and Prose	P	1892	NZ – Auckland	Bowring and Lusher
Christie	John	Offerings	P	1909	NZ – Dunedin	Otago Daily Times
Church	Hubert	The West Wind	P	1902	Aus – Sydney	Bulletin
Church	Hubert	Poems	P	1904	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Church	Hubert	Egmont	P	1908	Aus – Melbourne	Lothian
Church	Hubert	Poems	P	1912	NZ – Wellington	Lothian
Church	Hubert	Tonks	N	1916	UK – London	Holden & Hardingham
Clapperton	Annie	The Other Richard Graham	N	1911	UK – London	Stock
Clapperton	Annie	The Lauder Brothers, New Zealand	N	1936	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Clarke	Alfred	My Erratic Pal	P	1918	UK – London	Bodley Head
Clarke	Alfred	The Margaret Book	P	1919	UK – London	Bodley Head
Clarke	Beryl	His Imported Wife	N	1932	UK – London	Cape
Clarke	Basil	England	P	1940	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Clayton	F.W.	Dunedin	P	1926	NZ – Dunedin	Mills, Dick & Co
Cloke	Francis	Songs of New Zealand	P	1924	NZ – Auckland	Dawson

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Clyde	Constance	A Pagan's Love	N	1905	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Coad	Nellie	Such is Life	SS	1931	UK – London	Stockwell
Cocker	James	Blossomby Idylls	SS	1903	NZ – Wanganui	Vine & Vine
Colborne-Veel	Mary	The Fairest of the Angels	P	1894	UK – London	Cox
Colborne-Veel	Mary	A Little Anthology of Mary Colborne-Veel	P	1924	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Collins	Frank	Whispers of Memory	P	1944	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Constable	Lindsay	Up to Sixteen	P	1937	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Constable	Lindsay	Stories in Embryo	SS	1938	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Constable	Lindsay	Poet in Khaki	P	1940	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Cork	Arnold	Green Wood - White Wood	P	1938	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Cottle	Thomas	Frank Melton's Luck	N	1891	NZ – Auckland	Brett
Courage	Sarah	Lights and Shadows of Colonial Life	N	1896	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Courage	James	One House	N	1933	UK – London	Victor Gollancz
Crane	Montague	The Intruder	N	1930	NZ – Christchurch	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Cresswell	D'Arcy	Poems (1921-1927)	P	1928	UK – London	Wells Gardner, Darton & Co
Cresswell	D'Arcy	Poems, 1924-1931	P	1932	UK – London	Bodley Head
Cresswell	D'Arcy	Lyttelton Harbour	P	1936	NZ – Auckland	Unicorn
Crowe	Arthur	Selected Poems	P	1938	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Curnow	Allen	Valley of Decision	P	1932	NZ – Auckland	AUCSA Press
Curnow	Allen	Three Poems	P	1935	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Curnow	Allen	Enemies: Poems	P	1937	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Curnow	Allen	Not in Narrow Seas	P	1939	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Curnow	Allen	A Present for Hitler	P	1940	NZ – Christchurch	Handcraft
Curnow	Allen	Island & Time	P	1941	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Curnow	Allen	Whim-Wham: Verses, 1941–1942	P	1942	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Curnow	Allen	Whim-Wham, 1943	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	Progressive Publishing Society

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Curnow	Allen	Sailing or Drowning	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	Progressive Publishing Society
Curnow	Tremayne	Bad King Wenceslas	P	1944	NZ – Dunedin	Evening Star Co.
Curran	Marion	Sanctuary	P	1944	NZ – Auckland	Oswald-Sealy
Davin	Dan	Cliffs of Fall	N	1945	UK – London	Nicholson & Watson
de Montalk	Geoffrey	Wild Oats	P	1927	NZ – Christchurch	Geoffrey de Montalk
de Montalk	Geoffrey	Surprising Songs	P	1930	UK – London	Columbia
de Montalk	Geoffrey	Lordly Lovesongs	P	1931	UK – London	Columbia
de Montalk	Geoffrey	Blest Clay	P	1937	UK – London	Right Review
de Montalk	Geoffrey	Abdication of the Sun	P	1938	UK – London	Right Review
Deamer	Dulcie	As it Was in the Beginning	N	1909	Aus – Melbourne	Gordon & Gotch
Deamer	Dulcie	The Suttee of Safa	N	1913	US – New York	Dillingham
Deamer	Dulcie	Revelation	N	1921	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Deamer	Dulcie	The Street of the Gazelle	N	1922	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Deamer	Dulcie	The Devil's Saint	N	1924	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Deamer	Dulcie	Messalina	P	1932	Aus – Sydney	Johnson
Deamer	Dulcie	Holiday	N	1940	Aus – Sydney	Johnson
Devanny	Jean	Lenore Divine	N	1926	UK – London	Duckworth
Devanny	Jean	The Butcher Shop	N	1926	UK – London	Duckworth
Devanny	Jean	Old Savage	SS	1927	UK – London	Duckworth
Devanny	Jean	Dawn Beloved	N	1928	US – New York	Macaulay
Devanny	Jean	Riven	N	1929	UK – London	Duckworth
Devanny	Jean	Devil Made Saint	N	1930	UK – London	Duckworth
Devanny	Jean	Bushman Burke	N	1930	UK – London	Duckworth
Devanny	Jean	Unchastened Youth	N	1930	US – New York	Macaulay
Devanny	Jean	Poor Swine	N	1932	UK – London	Duckworth
Devanny	Jean	The Ghost Wife	N	1935	UK – London	Duckworth

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Devanny	Jean	Sugar Heaven	N	1936	Aus – Sydney	Modern Publishers
Devanny	Jean	Paradise Flow	N	1938	UK – London	Duckworth
Devanny	Jean	The Killing of Jacqueline Love	N	1942	Aus – Sydney	Johnson
Devanny	Jean	Roll Back the Night	N	1945	UK – London	Hale
Dewar	George	The Song of the Lowburn Punt	P	1944	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Donaldson	Dorothy	My Silent World	P	1939	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Donnelly	Ian	The Crazed Philosopher	P	1927	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Dowling	Basil	A Day's Journey	P	1941	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Dowling	Basil	Signs and Wonders	P	1944	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Duggan	Eileen	Poems	P	1921	NZ – Dunedin	N.Z. Tablet
Duggan	Eileen	New Zealand Bird Songs	P	1929	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
Duggan	Eileen	Poems	P	1937	UK – London	Allen & Unwin
Duggan	Eileen	New Zealand Poems	P	1940	UK – London	Allen & Unwin
Dutton	William	The Bird of Paradise	N	1896	NZ – Dunedin	S. N. Brown
Eden	Dorothy	Singing Shadows	N	1940	UK – London	Stanley Paul & Co
Eden	Dorothy	The Laughing Ghost	N	1943	UK – London	Macdonald
Eden	Dorothy	We Are for the Dark	N	1944	UK – London	Macdonald
Elliot	Wilhelmina	Riverton Sands	P	1910	NZ – Invercargill	Southland Times
Elliot	Wilhelmina	Service: a New Zealand Story	N	1924	UK – London	Stockwell
Elliot	Wilhelmina	From Zealandia	P	1925	UK – London	John M Watkins
Elliott	James H.	Random Rhymes	P	1924	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Elliott	James H.	Rhymes and Rigmaroles	P	1939	NZ – Hamilton	Waikato and King Country Press
Elliott	James S.	The Hundred Years	N	1940	UK – London	Hale
Elliott	James H.	Idylls of an Idler	P	1942	NZ – Hamilton	Waikato and King Country Press
Elliott	James H.	A Rhymer's Sketch Book	P	1943	NZ – Hamilton	Waikato and King Country Press
Ellison	Olive	The Road of Life	SS	1925	UK – London	Stockwell

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Escott	Margaret	Insolence of Office	N	1934	UK – London	Sampson Low
Escott	Margaret	Awake at Noon	N	1935	UK – London	Sampson Low
Escott	Margaret	Show Down	N	1936	UK – London	Chatto & Windus
Evelyn	Alexander	Thord	N	1944	NZ – Wellington	Pacific
Eyre	Ernest	Future Times	P	1906	NZ – Auckland	Wilson & Horton
Eyre	Ernest	The Road to Maoriland	P	1912	NZ – Auckland	Business Printing World
Eyre	Ernest	The Call and Other Lines	P	1915	NZ – Auckland	Walsh
Eyre	Ernest	Our Navy	P	1916	NZ – Auckland	Walsh
Eyre	Ernest	Cuttin' Flax	P	1918	NZ – Tauranga	C. F. Oliver
Eyre	Ernest	The British Gunner	P	1919	NZ – Tauranga	C. F. Oliver
Eyre	Ernest	In the Bush and Other Verses	P	1919	NZ – Tauranga	C. F. Oliver
Eyre	Ernest	Lips to Kiss and Hands to Hold	P	1939	NZ – Auckland	North Shore Gazette
Fairburn	Rex	He Shall Not Rise	P	1930	UK – London	Columbia
Fairburn	Rex	Dominion	P	1938	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Fairburn	Rex	Poems, 1929-1941	P	1943	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Farmer	Andrea	Maid of Owhata	P	1940	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Ferguson	Dugald	The Book of Job (with reflections)	P	1891	NZ – Dunedin	James Horsburgh
Ferguson	Dugald	Vicissitudes of Bush Life	N	1893	UK – London	Swan Sonnenschein
Ferguson	Dugald	Poems of the Heart	P	1897	NZ – Dunedin	James Horsburgh
Ferguson	Dugald	The King's Friend	N	1905	UK – Paisley	Gardner
Ferguson	Dugald	Mates	N	1911	UK – London	Hodder & Stoughton
Ferguson	Dugald	Castle Gay and Other Poems	P	1912	NZ – Dunedin	Stone
Finlayson	Roderick	Brown Man's Burden	SS	1938	NZ – Auckland	Unicorn
Finlayson	Roderick	Sweet Beulah Land	SS	1942	NZ – Auckland	Griffin Press
Foston	Herman	In the Bell-bird's Lair	N	1911	NZ – Wellington	Gordon & Gotch
Foston	Herman	At the Front	N	1921	UK – London	Stockwell

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Francis	Robert	A New Zealand Harp	P	1926	UK – London	Stockwell
Fullarton	John	Troop Target	N	1943	UK – London	Hutchinson
Gerard	Kate	The Call of the Light	P	1916	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Gerard	Kate	Peter	P	1930	NZ – Christchurch	L.M. Isitt Ltd
Gerard	Stephen	Cargo	P	1932	NZ – Christchurch	Christ's College Press
Gerard	Kate	Jacob: the Destiny for All Nations	P	1932	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Gerard	Stephen	Cargo	P	1932	NZ – Christchurch	Christ's College Press
Gibb	David	The Jubilee of David Gibb in New Zealand	P	1930	NZ – Dunedin	Otago Daily Times
Gilbert	Garvin	Free to Laugh & Dance	SS	1942	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Gilbert	Ruth	The Sunlit Hour	P	1945	UK – London	Allen & Unwin
Giles	Joseph	Poems	P	1908	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Gillespie	Oliver	The Road to Muritai	P	1919	NZ – Auckland	Wright & Jaques
Gillespie	Oliver	Night and Morning	P	1927	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Glover	Denis	Three Short Stories	SS	1936	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Glover	Denis	The Arraignment of Paris	P	1937	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Glover	Denis	Thirteen Poems	P	1939	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Glover	Denis	Cold Tongue	P	1940	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Glover	Denis	The Wind and the Sand	P	1945	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Goalen	Laura	Olla Podrida	P	1891	NZ – Wellington	Brown, Thomson & Co
Gordon	Mona	Torn Tapestry	N	1929	UK – London	Fowler Wright
Grace	Alfred	Maoriland Stories	SS	1895	NZ – Nelson	Betts
Grace	Alfred	Tales of a Dying Race	SS	1901	UK – London	Chatto & Windus
Grace	Alfred	Atareta: the Belle of the Kainga	N	1908	NZ – Wellington	Gordon & Gotch
Grace	Alfred	Hone Tiki Dialogues	SS	1910	NZ – Wellington	Gordon & Gotch
Grace	Alfred	The Tale of Timber Town	N	1914	Aus – Melbourne	Gordon & Gotch
Grace	Charles	Songs and Poems from “Aotearoa”	P	1924	NZ – Wellington	Gordon & Gotch

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Graeme-Holder	William	The Decker	N	1931	UK – London	Bodley Head
Graeme-Holder	William	Restless Earth	N	1933	NZ – Auckland	Associated NZ Authors
Graham	George	Zealandia	P	1912	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Gray	Donald	Poetry and Prose	P	1938	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Grieve	Beatrice	Sketches from Maoriland	SS	1939	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Grieve	Beatrice	Spring Manoeuvres	N	1944	UK – London	Hale
Grimwood	Andrew	Flights and Fancies	SS	1943	NZ – Wellington	Hutcheson, Bowman & Johnson
Grossmann	Edith	Angela: a Messenger	N	1890	NZ – Christchurch	Simpson & Williams
Grossmann	Edith	In Revolt	N	1893	UK – London	Eden, Remington & Co
Grossmann	Edith	Hermione: A Knight of the Holy Ghost	N	1907	UK – London	Watts
Grossmann	Edith	The Heart of the Bush	N	1910	UK – London	Sands
Gurney	Mary	Pageant From the Foothills	SS	1943	NZ – Auckland	Oswald-Sealy
Guthrie–Smith	Herbert	Tutira	N	1921	UK – Edinburgh	Blackwood
Hagemeyer	Dora	Leaf and Shadow	P	1941	US – California	Carmel Pine Cone Press
Hamilton	John	The Lay of the Bogle Stone	P	1892	NZ – Dunedin	Otago Workman
Hanger	Paula	Pledge to the Fallen: Poems	P	1940	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Hanger	Paula	Three Fronts of War, and Other Poems	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Hansen	Raymond	Vital Themes and Varied Topics	P	1945	NZ – Auckland	Times Printing Works
Harband	Beatrice	Under the Shadow of Durgamma	N	1901	Aus – Melbourne	Religious Tract Society (Melb)
Harband	Beatrice	Jaya: Which Means Victory	N	1903	UK – London	Marshall Brothers
Harband	Beatrice	Daughters of Darkness in Sunny India	N	1903	US – New York	Fleming H. Revell
Harband	Beatrice	The Pen of Brahma	N	1905	UK – Edinburgh	Oliphant, Aderson & Ferrier
Harris	Dick	Monodies: a Book of Verse	P	1910	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Harris	Dick	The Poetry of Dick Harris	P	1927	Aus – Sydney	New Century
Harris	Miriam	Poems	P	1932	NZ – Timaru	Hector C. Matheson
Hart-Smith	William	Columbus Goes West	P	1943	Aus – Adelaide	Jindyworobak Publications

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Hart-Smith	William	Harvest	P	1945	Aus – Melbourne	Georgian House
Haslam	Jonathan	Scenes in Southland	P	1926	UK – London	Epworth
Hastings	Angela	A New Zealand Village, and Other Poems	P	1943	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Hastings	Angela	Bright Conversations	SS	1943	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Healey	Kathleen	Heritage	P	1945	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
Heber	Davy	Netta	N	1894	NZ – Auckland	Wilson & Horton
Heerdegen	William	The Birth of New Zealand	P	1941	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Hellier	F	Colonials in Khaki	N	1916	UK – London	Murray and Evenden
Hereford	Philip	Verses and Essays	P	1929	NZ – Wellington	New Zealand Pub. Co.
Hervey	John	Selected Poems	P	1940	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Hervey	John	New Poems	P	1942	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Heys	Stella	Some of Us	SS	1944	Aus – Sydney	Currawong
Hills	Mavis	War Poems	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	Gordon & Gotch
Hoare	Merval	Twelve Poems	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
Hodge	Merton	The Wind and the Rain	N	1936	UK – London	Cassell
Hodgkinson	Gertrude	Under the Longwoods	P	1912	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Hodgkinson	Edith	A Handful of New Zealand Verse	P	1935	NZ – Invercargill	Southland News Print
Hodgkinson	Edith	God is Our Refuge and Strength	P	1939	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Hogg	James	Snow Man	N	1934	UK – London	Long
Hoggard	Noel	Muse Without Music	P	1939	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Hoggard	Roma	Interlude	P	1939	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Holcroft	Monte	Beyond the Breakers	N	1928	UK – London	Long
Holcroft	Monte	The Flameless Fire	N	1929	UK – London	Long
Holcroft	Monte	Brazilian Daughter	N	1931	UK – London	Long
Holland	Harry	Red Roses on the Highways	P	1924	Aus – Sydney	Holland & Stephenson
Holmes	Beatrice	Morning Song	P	1925	UK – London	Merton Press

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Hone	William	A Dream of Wanderings	P	1925	NZ – Whanganui	H. I. Jones & Son
Howden	Molly	Green Violets	P	1928	NZ – Wellington	L. T. Watkins
Hudson	Frank	The Song of the Manly Men	P	1908	UK – London	Nutt
Hudson	Frank	Sheaves and Javelins	P	1923	UK – London	Hutchinson
Hulbert	John	My Garden and Other Verses	P	1922	NZ – Wellington	Maoriland Worker
Hume	Fergus	The Devil-stick	N	190-	UK – London	Gardner
Hume	Fergus	The Dancer in Red	N	190-	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Crimson Cryptogram	N	190-	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	Jonah's Luck	N	190-	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Gentleman Who Vanished	N	1890	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	Miss Mephistopheles	N	1890	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Man with a Secret	N	1890	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	Whom God Hath Joined	N	1891	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	Monsieur Judas	N	1891	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Hume	Fergus	A Creature of the Night	N	1891	UK – London	Sampson Low
Hume	Fergus	The Year of Miracle	N	1891	UK – London	Routledge
Hume	Fergus	Aladdin in London	N	1892	UK – London	A & C Black
Hume	Fergus	The Nameless City	N	1893	US – Boston	Osgood, McIlvaine & Co
Hume	Fergus	The Island of Fantasy	N	1893	UK – London	King
Hume	Fergus	The Chinese Jar	N	1893	UK – London	Sampson Low
Hume	Fergus	The Harlequin Opal	N	1893	UK – London	King
Hume	Fergus	A Midnight Mystery	N	1894	UK – London	Gale & Polden
Hume	Fergus	The Lone Inn	N	1894	UK – London	Jarrold
Hume	Fergus	The Mystery of Landy Court.	N	1894	UK – London	Jarrold
Hume	Fergus	The Gates of Dawn	N	1894	UK – London	Sampson Low
Hume	Fergus	The White Prior	N	1895	UK – London	Frederick Warne & Co.

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Hume	Fergus	The Crime of the “Liza Jane”	N	1895	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Expedition of Captain Flick	N	1895	UK – London	Jarrold
Hume	Fergus	The Third Volume	N	1895	US – New York	Lupton
Hume	Fergus	The Fever of Life	N	1896	UK – London	King
Hume	Fergus	A Marriage Mystery	N	1896	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Carbuncle Clue	N	1896	UK – London	Frederick Warne & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Dwarf’s Chamber	SS	1896	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Tombstone Treasure	N	1897	UK – London	Jarrold
Hume	Fergus	Claude Duval of Ninety-five	N	1897	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	Lady Jezebel	N	1898	UK – London	Bell
Hume	Fergus	The Rainbow Feather	N	1898	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Silent House in Pimlico	N	1899	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Indian Bangle	N	1899	UK – London	Sampson Low
Hume	Fergus	The Bishop's Secret	N	1900	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Vanishing of Tera	N	1900	UK – London	Bell
Hume	Fergus	The Lady From Nowhere	N	1900	UK – London	Chatto & Windus
Hume	Fergus	A Traitor in London	N	1900	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	A Woman’s Burden.	N	1900	UK – London	Jarrold
Hume	Fergus	The Singing Head	N	1900	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Hume	Fergus	Tracked by a Tattoo	N	1900	UK – London	Frederick Warne & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Mother of Emeralds	N	1901	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Hume	Fergus	Shylock of the River	N	1901	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Millionaire Mystery	N	1901	UK – London	Collins
Hume	Fergus	The Black Carnation	N	1901	US – New York	Street & Smith
Hume	Fergus	The Pagan’s Cup	N	1902	US – New York	Dillingham
Hume	Fergus	The Turnpike House	N	1902	UK – London	Long

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Hume	Fergus	Woman: the Sphinx	N	1902	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Crime of the Crystal	N	1902	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Miser's Will	N	1903	UK – London	Anthony Treherne
Hume	Fergus	The Silver Bullet	N	1903	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Yellow Holly	N	1903	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Guilty House	N	1903	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	A Coin of Edward VII	N	1903	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Jade Eye	N	1903	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Red Window	N	1904	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Wheeling Light	N	1904	UK – London	Chatto & Windus
Hume	Fergus	The White Room	N	1904	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Mandarin’s Fan	N	1904	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Lonely Church	N	1904	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Secret Passage	N	1905	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Wooden Hand	N	1905	UK – London	Bell
Hume	Fergus	The Fatal Song	N	1905	UK – London	Bell
Hume	Fergus	The Scarlet Bat	N	1905	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Opal Serpent	N	1905	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Mystery of the Shadow	N	1906	UK – London	Cassell
Hume	Fergus	The Black Patch	N	1906	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	Lady Jim of Curzon Street	N	1906	UK – London	T. Werner Laurie
Hume	Fergus	The Sealed Message	N	1907	US – New York	Dillingham
Hume	Fergus	The Yellow Hunchback	N	1907	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Crowned Skull	N	1908	UK – London	T. Werner Laurie
Hume	Fergus	Flies in the Web	N	1908	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Amethyst Cross	N	1908	UK – London	Cassell

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Hume	Fergus	The Sacred Herb	N	1908	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Mystery of a Motor Cab	N	1908	UK – London	Bell
Hume	Fergus	The Green Mummy	N	1908	US – New York	Dillingham
Hume	Fergus	The Disappearing Eye	N	1909	US – New York	Dillingham
Hume	Fergus	The Spider	N	1910	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Top Dog	N	1910	UK – London	Bell
Hume	Fergus	The Peacock of Jewels	N	1910	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Steel Crown	N	1911	US – New York	Dillingham
Hume	Fergus	The Solitary Farm	N	1911	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Pink Shop	N	1911	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Red-headed Man	N	1911	UK – London	Digby, Long
Hume	Fergus	The Jew's House	N	1911	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Rectory Governess	N	1911	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	High-water Mark	N	1911	UK – London	Bell
Hume	Fergus	The Devil’s Ace	N	1912	UK – London	George Newnes
Hume	Fergus	The Mystery Queen	N	1912	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	A Son of Perdition	N	1912	UK – London	Rider
Hume	Fergus	Mother Mandarin	N	1912	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Blue Talisman.	N	1912	UK – London	T. Werner Laurie
Hume	Fergus	Red Money	N	1912	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	Across the Footlights	N	1912	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Thirteenth Guest	N	1913	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Curse	N	1913	UK – London	T. Werner Laurie
Hume	Fergus	In Queer Street	N	1913	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The 4p.m. Express.	N	1913	UK – London	Pearson
Hume	Fergus	Seen in the Shadow	N	1913	UK – London	White

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Hume	Fergus	The Best of Her Sex	N	1914	UK – London	Holden & Hardingham
Hume	Fergus	Not Wanted	N	1914	UK – London	George Newnes
Hume	Fergus	The Lost Parchment	N	1914	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	Answered: a Spy Story	N	1915	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Caretaker	N	1916	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Golden Wang-ho	N	1916	UK – London	Long
Hume	Fergus	The Red Bicycle	N	1916	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Grey Doctor	N	1917	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Silent Signal	N	1917	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	Heart of Ice	N	1917	UK –London	Hurst & Blackett
Hume	Fergus	Hagar of the Pawn-shop	N	1918	UK – London	Skeffington
Hume	Fergus	The Black Image	N	1918	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	Next Door	N	1918	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Master-mind	N	1919	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Hume	Fergus	Crazy-Quilt	N	1919	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Other Person	N	1920	UK – London	White
Hume	Fergus	The Dark Avenue	N	1920	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Woman who Held On	N	1920	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	Three	N	1921	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Hume	Fergus	The Moth-woman	N	1923	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Hume	Fergus	The Caravan Mystery	N	1926	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Hunter	George	Utu	P	1905	NZ – Wellington	Geddis and Bloomfield
Hunter	Edward	Ballads of the Track	P	1918	NZ – Auckland	Co-operative Publishing Board
Hunter	Edward	The Road the Men Came Home	N	1920	UK – London	National Labour Press
Hunter	Rex	And Tomorrow Comes	P	1924	Euro – Copenhagen	Steen Hinrichsen
Hunter	Rex	The Saga of Sinclair	P	1927	US – New York	Maverick House

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Hunter	Rex	Porlock: a Portrait	N	1940	US – Caldwell, Idaho	Caxton Printers
Ingleby	Bernard	Poems	P	1917	NZ – Auckland	Excel Printing
Isitt	Kate	Patmos	N	1905	UK – London	Gordon & Gotch
Izett	James	The Blood that Makes for Empire	P	1901	NZ – Wellington	Wright & Carman
Izett	James	Tutanekai and Hinemoa	P	1925	NZ – New Plymouth	Taranaki Daily News
Jacobs	Henry	A Lay of the Southern Cross	P	1893	UK – London	Skeffington
Johnson	Samuel	The Song of the All-Red Realm	P	1915	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Johnson	Louis	Stanza and Scene: Poems	P	1945	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Jones	Lucy	A Secret of the Sea and Other Colonial Stories	SS	1899	NZ – Christchurch	Simpson & Williams
Jones	Lucy	Nemesis: and Other Stories	SS	1907	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Jones	Edel	New Zealand Poetry	P	1925	NZ – Auckland	Scott Printing
Joseph	George	The Horse with the Delicate Air	SS	1945	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
Kacem	Allie	For Father's Sake	N	1897	NZ – Wellington	Brown, Thomson & Co
Kaye	Bannerman	Haromi: a New Zealand Story	N	1900	UK – London	James Clarke
Keesing	Maurice	Dramas and Poems	P	1909	NZ – Auckland	Abel, Dykes
Keesing	Maurice	Dramas and Poems: Second Series	P	1914	UK – London	Stock
Kelk	Henry	Songs and Sonnets	P	1915	NZ – Dunedin	Stark
Kelly	John	Zealandia's Jubilee	P	1890	NZ – Auckland	Kelly & Baulf
Kelly	John	Heather and Fern	P	1902	NZ – Wellington	New Zealand Times
Kelly	James	Occasional Verses	P	1921	NZ – Dunedin	N.Z. Tablet
Kenny	Alice	The Elmslie Mystery	N	1934	Aus – Sydney	Macquarie Head
Kenny	Alice	The Rebel	N	1934	Aus – Sydney	Macquarie Head
Kenny	Alice	The Good Goblin and Other Verses	P	1939	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Kerr	Walter	Our Home in the Roaring Forties	N	1926	NZ – Napier	Ball
Kerr	Walter	New Horizons	P	1929	NZ – Auckland	National Printing Co.
Kerr	Walter	Parnassian Essays	P	1930	NZ – Auckland	National Printing Co.

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Kerr	Walter	Links of Sky and Earth	P	1935	NZ – Auckland	National Printing Co.
Kerr	Walter	Panoramic Vistas	P	1940	NZ – Auckland	National Printing Co.
Kirkman	John	Poems	P	1926	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Knell	Betty	As the Story Goes	P	1929	Aus – Sydney	New Century
Lamb	Kathleen	Sons of the South	P	1927	NZ – Auckland	Unity
Langley	Eve	The Pea-pickers	N	1942	Aus – Sydney	Angus & Robertson
Lawlor	Charlotte	Pink May	P	1930	NZ – Auckland	Chas. Davy & Sons
Lawlor	Charlotte	A Book of Verse	P	1935	NZ – Auckland	Te Wahine Printer
Lawlor	Pat	The House of Templemore	N	1938	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Lawlor	Pat	Daniel Mahoney's Secret	N	1939	NZ – Dunedin	N.Z. Tablet
Lawrence	Warwick	Vulcan Lane	P	1935	NZ – Auckland	Unicorn
Lawson	Will	The Red West Road	P	1903	NZ – Wellington	Turnbull, Hickson & Gooder
Lawson	Will	Between the Lights	P	1906	NZ – Wellington	Ferguson & Hicks
Lawson	Will	Stokin' and Other Verses	P	1908	NZ – Wellington	Gordon & Gotch
Lawson	Will	The Three Kings	P	1914	UK – London	Angus & Robertson
Lawson	Will	The Laughing Buccaneer	N	1935	Aus – Sydney	Angus & Robertson
Lawson	Will	Old Man Murray	N	1937	Aus – Sydney	Angus & Robertson
Lawson	Will	In Ben Boyd's Day	N	1939	Aus – Sydney	New Century
Lawson	Will	Bound for Callao	N	1942	Aus – Sydney	Johnson
Lawson	Will	Bush Verses	P	1943	Aus – Sydney	Dymock's Book Arcade
Lawson	Will	Bill the Whaler	P	1944	Aus – Sydney	Dymock's Book Arcade
Lawson	Will	Black Diamonds	N	1945	Aus – Sydney	Consolidated Press
Lawson	Will	The Lady of the Heather	N	1945	Aus – Sydney	Angus & Robertson
Lea	Donald	Stand-down!	P	1917	UK – London	Bodley Head
Lea	Donald	A Number of Things	P	1919	UK – Birmingham	Cornish Brothers
Lea	Donald	Dione: a Spring Medley	P	1919	UK – Birmingham	Cornish Brothers

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Lee	John	Children of the Poor	N	1934	UK – London	T. Werner Laurie
Lee	John	The Hunted	N	1936	UK – London	T. Werner Laurie
Lee	John	Civilian into Soldier	N	1937	UK – London	T. Werner Laurie
Lee	John	The Yanks are Coming	N	1943	UK – London	T. Werner Laurie
Lee	John	Shining with the Shiner	N	1944	NZ – Hamilton	Mead
Lennox	C	A Guilty Innocence	SS	1895	NZ – Dunedin	Fergusson & Mitchell
Leonis	Sheila	Maut: a Tale of Ancient Egypt	N	1938	UK – London	Rider
Lloyd	Victor	Son of Peter	N	1930	UK – London	Eveleigh Nash & Grayson
Lyttleton	Edith	Sons o' Men	N	1904	UK – London	Melrose
Lyttleton	Edith	A Spur to Smite	N	1905	UK – London	Melrose
Lyttleton	Edith	The Tracks We Tread	N	1907	US – New York	Doubleday, Page & Co.
Lyttleton	Edith	The Altar Stairs	N	1908	UK – London	Hodder & Stoughton
Lyttleton	Edith	Jim of the Ranges	N	1910	UK – London	Constable
Lyttleton	Edith	The Honourable Peggy	N	1911	UK – London	Constable
Lyttleton	Edith	The Law-bringers	N	1913	UK – London	Hodder & Stoughton
Lyttleton	Edith	Fool Divine	N	1917	UK – London	Hodder & Stoughton
Lyttleton	Edith	The Savignys	N	1918	UK – London	Hodder & Stoughton
Lyttleton	Edith	The World is Yours	N	1933	UK – London	Allen & Unwin
Lyttleton	Edith	Pageant	N	1933	UK – London	Allen & Unwin
Lyttleton	Edith	Promenade	N	1938	UK – London	Bodley Head
Lyttleton	Edith	Grand Parade	N	1943	US – New York	Reynal & Hitchcock
Macdonald	Charles	The Lays of the Real Lovesingers	P	1941	NZ – Auckland	E. Spencer
Mackay	Jessie	The Sitter on the Rail	P	1891	NZ – Christchurch	Simpson & Williams
Mackay	Jessie	From the Maori Sea	P	1908	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Mackay	Jessie	Land of the Morning	P	1909	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Mackay	Jessie	Poems	P	1911	Aus – Melbourne	Lothian

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Mackay	Jessie	The Bride of the Rivers	P	1926	NZ – Christchurch	Simpson & Williams
Mackay	Jessie	Vigil	P	1935	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Macky	Edna	Adventure and Other Poems	P	1925	NZ – Auckland	Dawson
MacLennan	John	Neptune's Toll	P	1907	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Mactier	Susie	The Far Countrie	N	1901	UK – Edinburgh	John Menzies
Mactier	Susie	The Hills of Hauraki	N	1908	UK – London	Sunday School Union
Mactier	Susie	Miranda Stanhope	N	1911	NZ – Auckland	Brett
Mander	Jane	The Story of a New Zealand River	N	1920	UK – London	Bodley Head
Mander	Jane	The Passionate Puritan	N	1922	UK – London	Bodley Head
Mander	Jane	The Strange Attraction	N	1922	US – New York	Dodd, Mead & Co
Mander	Jane	Allen Adair	N	1925	UK – London	Hutchinson
Mander	Jane	The Besieging City	N	1926	UK – London	Hutchinson
Mander	Jane	Pins and Pinnacles	N	1928	UK – London	Hutchinson
Mansfield	Katherine	In a German Pension	SS	1911	UK – London	Stephen Swift
Mansfield	Katherine	Prelude	SS	1918	UK – London	Hogarth
Mansfield	Katherine	Je ne parle pas Francais	SS	1919	UK – London	Heron Press
Mansfield	Katherine	Bliss and Other Stories	SS	1920	UK – London	Constable
Mansfield	Katherine	The Garden Party	SS	1922	UK – London	Constable
Mansfield	Katherine	Poems	P	1923	UK – London	Constable
Mansfield	Katherine	Something Childish and Other Stories	SS	1924	UK – London	Constable
Mansfield	Katherine	The Doves' Nest and Other Stories	SS	1929	UK – London	Constable
Mansfield	Katherine	The Doll's House	SS	1934	Ger – Hamburg	Albatross
Marriott-Watson	Henry	The Web of the Spider	N	1891	UK – London	Hutchinson
Marriott-Watson	Henry	Diogenes of London	SS	1893	UK – London	Methuen
Marriott-Watson	Henry	At the First Corner	SS	1895	UK – London	Bodley Head
Marriott-Watson	Henry	A Poppy Show	SS	1908	UK – London	Methuen

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Marriott-Watson	Henry	At a Venture	N	1911	UK – London	Methuen
Marriott-Watson	Henry	Rosalind in Arden	N	1913	UK – London	Dent
Marriott-Watson	Henry	Hurricane Island	N	1915	UK – London	George Newnes
Marsh	Ngaio	A Man Lay Dead	N	1934	UK – London	Bles
Marsh	Ngaio	Enter a Murderer	N	1935	UK – London	Bles
Marsh	Ngaio	The Nursing-Home Murder	N	1935	UK – London	Bles
Marsh	Ngaio	Death in Ecstasy	N	1936	UK – London	Bles
Marsh	Ngaio	Vintage Murder	N	1937	UK – London	Bles
Marsh	Ngaio	Artists in Crime	N	1938	UK – London	Bles
Marsh	Ngaio	Death in a White Tie	N	1938	UK – London	Bles
Marsh	Ngaio	Overture to Death	N	1939	UK – London	Collins
Marsh	Ngaio	Death at the Bar	N	1940	UK – London	Collins
Marsh	Ngaio	Death of a Peer	N	1940	US – Boston	Little, Brown & Co
Marsh	Ngaio	Death and the Dancing Footman.	N	1941	UK – London	Collins
Marsh	Ngaio	Surfeit of Lampreys	N	1941	UK – London	Collins
Marsh	Ngaio	Colour Scheme	N	1943	UK – London	Collins
Marsh	Ngaio	Died in the Wool	N	1945	UK – London	Collins
Martin	William	A Seaside Reverie	P	1917	NZ – Dunedin	Orr & Campbell
Mason	Ron	The Beggar	P	1924	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Mason	Ron	No New Thing: Poems 1924-29	P	1934	NZ – Auckland	Unicorn
Mason	Ron	This Dark Will Lighten	P	1941	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
McCarthy	Beryl	Castles in the Soil	N	1939	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
McClelland	David	Beer and Oysters	SS	1942	UK – London	Kangaroo Books
McClelland	David	The Cobblestone Family	N	1943	UK – London	Kangaroo Books
McClelland	David	Death of an Undertaker	N	1943	UK – London	Kangaroo Books
McClelland	David	The Pepper Tree	N	1943	UK – London	Kangaroo Books

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
McClelland	David	Love and Hunger	N	1944	UK – London	Kangaroo Books
McClelland	David	Mr. Larkin	N	1944	UK – London	Kangaroo Books
McClelland	David	The Pillory	N	1944	UK – London	Kangaroo Books
McClelland	David	The Dispossessed	N	1944	UK – London	Kangaroo Books
McClelland	David	Barney Christopher	N	1945	UK – London	Kangaroo Books
McDonnell	Thomas	Tregurtha Abbey and New Zealand Tales	SS	1898	NZ – Wanganui	Willis
McGlashan	John	Melodies & Meditations	P	1914	NZ – Wellington	Hugh Douglas
McLauchlan	Joseph	Legend of the Dauntless Rimu	P	1912	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Mechaelis	Edith	Kiwi Victory Rhymes	P	1940	NZ – Christchurch	Christie & Co
Milton	Elizabeth	Wand'ring Wood	N	1930	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Milton	Elizabeth	Desert Quest	N	1931	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Milton	Elizabeth	They Called Her Faith	N	1932	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Milton	Elizabeth	Waimana	N	1934	UK – London	Mills & Boon
Milton	Elizabeth	Strange Horizon	N	1934	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Milton	Elizabeth	Love and Chiffon	N	1936	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Montgomery	Eleanor	The Land of the Moa	P	1890	NZ – Whanganui	Willis
Montgomery	Eleanor	The Tohunga, and Incidents of Maori Life	P	1896	NZ – Whanganui	Willis
Morton	Frank	Laughter and Tears	P	1908	NZ – Wellington	New Zealand Times
Morton	Frank	The Angel of the Earthquake	SS	1909	Aus – Melbourne	Atlas
Morton	Frank	The Yacht of Dreams	N	1911	UK – London	Melrose
Morton	Frank	Verses for Marjorie and Some Others	P	1916	Aus – Melbourne	Lothian
Mulgan	Alan	The English of the Line	P	1925	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Mulgan	Alan	Golden Wedding	P	1932	UK – London	Dent
Mulgan	Alan	Spur of Morning	N	1934	UK – London	Dent
Mulgan	Alan	Aldebaran and Other Verses	P	1937	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Mulgan	John	Man Alone	N	1939	UK – London	Selwyn & Blount

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Myers	Martha	Valiant Love	N	1941	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Nalder	Marshall	Battle-smoke Ballads	P	1902	NZ – Christchurch	Lyttelton Times
Nicholls	Marjory	A Venture in Verse	P	1917	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Nicholls	Marjory	Gathered Leaves	P	1922	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Nicholls	Marjory	Thirdly	P	1930	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
North	Esma	Primroses for My Fair	P	1930	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
O'Connor	Phil	Carbine: and Other Verses	P	1925	UK – London	Stockwell
Oliphant	Peter	Bill the Namer	N	1905	NZ – Auckland	Wilson & Horton
Osmond	Sophie	Ponga Bay	N	1922	UK – London	Hutchinson
Ost	Friedrich	My Little Book of Swallows	P	1941	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
Ost	Friedrich	One Amongst Us: a Ballad	P	1944	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Owen	Charles	Captain Sheen	N	1905	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Owen	Charles	Philip Loveluck	N	1909	UK – London	Bell
Palmer	Charles	Hinemoa: a Legend of Ao-tea-roa	P	1918	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Palmer	Charles	The Mystery of the Moa	P	1930	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Palmer	Charles	South South Eastward Ho!	P	1934	UK – London	Daniel
Peacocke	Isabel	Cinderella's Suitors	N	1918	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Peacocke	Isabel	The Guardian: a Novel	N	1920	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Peacocke	Isabel	Figs From Thistles	N	1921	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Peacocke	Isabel	The House at Journey's End	N	1925	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Peacocke	Isabel	Waif's Progress	N	1929	UK – London	Hodder & Stoughton
Peacocke	Isabel	Butterfingers	P	1945	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Peacocke	Isabel	Shadow Valley	N	1945	UK – London	Ward, Lock & Co.
Perry	Dorothy	Lyrics in Leisure	P	1909	Aus – Melbourne	Lothian
Perry	A	Hinemoa and Tutanekai	P	1910	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Perry	Stuart	The Litany of Beauty	P	1934	NZ – Wellington	Ferguson & Osborn

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Pope	Robert	Some New Zealand Lyrics	P	1928	NZ – Wellington	Ferguson & Osborn
Pope	Robert	A New Zealander's Fancies in Verse	P	1945	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Poppelwell	Dugald	Rambling Rhymes	P	1926	NZ – Mataura	Ensign Print
Powell	Roland	Sonnets and Lyrics	P	1909	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Powell	Roland	Gleanings	P	1933	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Purnell	Charles	The Modern Arthur	P	1912	UK – London	Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent
Purnell	Charles	The Worship of the Serpent	P	1922	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Rawlinson	Gloria	The Perfume Vendor	P	1935	UK – London	Hutchinson
Rawlinson	Gloria	Music in the Listening-Place	N	1938	UK – London	Cassell
Reed	George	The Angel Isafrel	N	1896	NZ – Auckland	Wilson & Horton
Reed	Alexander	Rewi's Last Stand	N	1939	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Reed	Alfred	A Song of Praise for Maoriland	P	1944	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Rees	Rosemary	April's Sowing	N	1924	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Rees	Rosemary	Heather of the South	N	1924	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Rees	Rosemary	Lake of Enchantment	N	1925	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Rees	Rosemary	"Life's What You Make It!"	N	1927	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Rees	Rosemary	Wild, Wild Heart	N	1928	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	Dear Acquaintance	N	1929	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	Sane Jane	N	1931	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	Concealed Turning	N	1932	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Rees	Rosemary	Local Colour	N	1933	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	Home's Where the Heart Is	N	1935	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	Miss Tiverton's Shipwreck	N	1936	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	Turn the Hour	N	1937	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	Sing a Song of Sydney	N	1938	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	You'll Never Fail Me	N	1939	UK – London	Chapman & Hall

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Rees	Rosemary	I Can Take Care of Myself	N	1940	UK – London	Wright & Brown
Rees	Rosemary	Sackcloth for Susan	N	1941	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Rees	Rosemary	The Mended Citadel	N	1943	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Reeves	William	New Zealand, and Other Poems	P	1898	UK – London	Grant Richards
Reeves	William	The Passing of the Forest	P	1925	UK – London	Allen & Unwin
Reid	John	The Secret Years	P	1945	NZ – Auckland	Griffin Press
Reid	John	Live Rounds	P	1945	NZ – Auckland	Griffin Press
Reynolds	Rachel	In Many Moods	P	1915	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Richmond	Mary E.	Poems	P	1903	UK – London	Bodley Head
Richmond	Mary E.	The Bindy Ballads	P	1925	UK – London	Francis
Richmond	Mary E.	Yet We Believe	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Roberts	Thomas	Rimu and Rata	P	1920	NZ – Christchurch	Wyatt & Wilson
Robertson	Angus	Poems	P	1910	NZ – Dunedin	Robertson, McBeath & Co
Robertson	Angus	Sketches and Poems on Sea and Land	P	1910	NZ – Dunedin	Budget
Robertson	Angus	Echoes From Beyond the Wave	P	1912	NZ – Dunedin	Wilkie
Robertson	Angus	Salt Sea Tang	P	1927	NZ – Dunedin	Lister
Rollett	Hilda	A Pleasant Land	SS	1925	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Rose	Erle	Sunlight from Attica	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Ross	David	The Afterglow	P	1904	NZ – Auckland	Wilson & Horton
Ross	David	The Promise of the Star	P	1906	UK – London	Jarrold
Ross	David	Hearts of the Pure	P	1911	UK – London	Walter Scott Publ
Ross	David	Morning Red	P	1916	NZ – Auckland	Wildman
Ross	David	Stars in the Mist	P	1928	UK – London	Selwyn & Blount
Ross	Forrestina	Mixed Grill	SS	1934	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Ryan	Elsie	The Chaste Design	P	1945	NZ – Dunedin	N.Z. Catholic Deaf Association
Ryan	Elsie	Brown Benison	P	1945	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Sadd	Norman	Diplomacy Versus Courage	N	1937	NZ – Auckland	Auckland Printing and Publishing Co.
Sadd	Norman	Beaten by Graft	N	1939	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Sadd	Norman	The Transgressions of Aolele	N	1940	NZ – Auckland	Pearson's Printery
Sargent	Winston	The Palms Bend Down	N	1945	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Sargeson	Frank	Conversation With my Uncle	SS	1936	NZ – Auckland	Unicorn
Sargeson	Frank	A Man and his Wife	SS	1940	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Sargeson	Frank	When the Wind Blows	N	1945	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Satchell	William	Patriotic and Other Poems	P	1900	NZ – Auckland	Brett
Satchell	William	The Land of the Lost	N	1902	UK – London	Methuen
Satchell	William	The Toll of the Bush	N	1905	UK – London	Macmillan
Satchell	William	The Elixir of Life	N	1907	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
Satchell	William	The Greenstone Door	N	1914	UK – London	Sidgwick & Jackson
Scanlan	Nelle	The Top Step	N	1931	UK – London	Jarrold
Scanlan	Nelle	Primrose Hill	N	1931	UK – London	Jarrold
Scanlan	Nelle	Pencarrow	N	1932	UK – London	Jarrold
Scanlan	Nelle	Tides of Youth	N	1933	UK – London	Jarrold
Scanlan	Nelle	Winds of Heaven	N	1934	UK – London	Jarrold
Scanlan	Nelle	Ambition’s Harvest	N	1935	UK – London	Jarrold
Scanlan	Nelle	The Marriage of Nicholas Cotter	N	1936	UK – London	Hale
Scanlan	Nelle	Leisure for Living	N	1937	UK – London	Hale
Scanlan	Nelle	A Guest for Life	N	1938	UK – London	Hale
Scanlan	Nelle	Kelly Pencarrow	N	1939	UK – London	Hale
Scanlan	Nelle	March Moon	N	1944	UK – London	Hale
Scott	Mary	Where the Apple Reddens...	N	1934	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Scott	Mary	And Shadows Flee	N	1935	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Scott	Mary	Barbara and the New Zealand Back-Blocks	SS	1936	NZ – New Plymouth	Avery

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Scott	Mary	Barbara Prospers	N	1937	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Scott	Mary	Life with Barbara	SS	1944	NZ – Wellington	Reed
Scully	Frank	The Golden West	P	1926	NZ – Wellington	New Zealand Times
Seddon	Rosalie	Whims of a WAAF	P	1945	NZ – Auckland	Pelorus
Service	Marna	Blue Magic	P	1928	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Sillars	James	Musings in Maoriland	P	1908	NZ – Masterton	Wairarapa Daily Times
Sim	Frances	Fellow Travellers Through New Zealand	P	1929	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Sinclair	Mary	Tena Koe	P	1903	UK – London	T. Fisher Unwin
Singer	Richard	The Years Go Round	P	1928	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Skey	William	Patriotic Rhymes	P	1900	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Smith	Lucy	Poems by a New Zealander	P	1897	UK – London	Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co
Smith	Lucy	Pan's Pipe	P	1911	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Smith	Lucy	Gallipoli and Other poems	P	1922	NZ – Dunedin	Whitcombe & Tombs
Smith	Hugh	Poems by an Ayrshire Scot	P	1923	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Smith	Henry	New Zealand Calling	N	1936	NZ – New Plymouth	Avery
Smyth	Walter	Jean of the Tussock Country	N	1928	UK – London	Mills & Boon
Smyth	Walter	Bonzer Jones	N	1929	UK – London	Mills & Boon
Smyth	Walter	The Girl from Mason Creek	N	1929	UK – London	Mills & Boon
Smyth	Walter	Wooden Rails	N	1930	UK – London	Mills & Boon
Smyth	Walter	Trail of the Wildcat	N	1945	Aus – Sydney	New Century
Solway	Robert	Eulogy on America	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Southon	Dick	A World to Win	P	1945	NZ – Wellington	Handcraft
Spear	& Baigent	Rearguard Actions	N	1936	UK – London	Methuen
Staples	Marjory	Mocking Shadows	N	1940	UK – London	Stockwell
Steele	Frances	The Pearl Fishers and Collected Poems	P	1938	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Stenhouse	William	Lays From Maoriland	P	1908	UK – Paisley	Gardner

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Stevens	Alexa	Children First	SS	1941	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
Stewart	Douglas	Green Lions	P	1936	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Stewart	Douglas	The White Cry	P	1939	UK – London	Dent
Stewart	Douglas	Elegy for an Airman	P	1940	Aus – Sydney	Johnson
Stewart	Douglas	Sonnets to the Unknown Soldier	P	1941	Aus – Sydney	Angus & Robertson
Stewart	Douglas	A Girl with Red Hair	SS	1944	Aus – Sydney	Angus & Robertson
Story	Elsie	The Tired Angel	N	1924	UK – London	Stockwell
Straubel	Carl	Undersong	P	1930	NZ – Christchurch	New Spectator
Swainson	Amy	The Rare Justice of Woman	N	1896	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Tapp	Edwin	A Miscellany of Verse	P	1937	NZ – Dunedin	Reed
Tate	Robert	The Doughman	N	1933	Aus – Sydney	Endeavour
Terry	Lionel	The Shadow	P	1904	NZ – Auckland	Wilson & Horton
Thompson	Hamilton	Ballads about Business and Back-Block Life	P	1909	NZ – Dunedin	Otago Daily Times
Thompson	Alexander	Her Finest Hour	P	1940	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Thornton	Guy	The Wowser	N	1916	UK – London	Kingsgate Press
Throp	Jane	Whisperings of Nature	P	1924	NZ – Dunedin	Coulls, Somerville & Wilkie
Throp	Jane	Autumn Leaves	P	1933	NZ – Dunedin	Kerr
Tobin	Charles	Forest Leaves	P	1921	UK – Bath	Herald (Bath)
Tombleson	John	Bothasberg	P	1910	UK – London	Walter Scott Publ
Torrens	John	A Song of Auckland	P	1900	NZ – Auckland	Wilson & Horton
Torrens	John	A Trip to Mars	SS	1901	NZ – Wellington	Wilson & Horton
Torrens	John	Verses and Essays	P	1913	NZ – Auckland	Abel, Dykes
Tregear	Edward	Hedged With Divinities	N	1895	NZ – Wellington	Coupland Harding
Tregear	Edward	Shadows, and Other Verses	P	1919	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Twisleton	Henry	Poems	P	1895	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Uren	Martyn	They Will Arise	N	1945	NZ – Auckland	Collins

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Victory	Louis	The Looms of Orchil	P	1922	NZ – Wellington	Commercial Printing and Publishing
Vogel	Julius	Anno Domini 2000	N	1890	UK – London	Hutchinson
Vogel	Harry	A Maori Maid	N	1898	UK – London	Macmillan
Vogel	Harry	My Dear Sir!	N	1899	UK – London	Pearson
Vogel	Harry	Gentleman Garnet	N	1902	UK – London	Macmillan
Vogel	Harry	The Tragedy of a Flirtation	N	1909	UK – London	Greening
Vogt	Anton	Anti All That	P	1939	NZ – Christchurch	Caxton Press
Vogt	Anton	Poems For a War	P	1943	NZ – Wellington	Progressive Publishing Society
Wagener	W.E.	A Kiwi's Soliloquy	P	1943	NZ – Auckland	Wright & Jaques
Wall	Arnold	At the Cross Roads	P	1894	UK – London	Nutt
Wall	Arnold	King Marchaunt and his Ragamuffin	P	1900	UK – London	Swan Sonnenschein
Wall	Arnold	Blank Verse Lyrics	P	1900	UK – London	Nutt
Wall	Arnold	New Poems	P	1908	UK – London	Walter Scott Publ
Wall	Arnold	Of the War: 24 Sonnets	P	1920	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Wall	Arnold	London Lost	P	1922	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Wall	Arnold	The Order of Release	P	1934	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Wall	Arnold	Themes and Variations	P	1938	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Wall	Arnold	About Our Birds	P	1943	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Wardon	Reve	Macpherson's Gully	N	1892	NZ – Christchurch	Simpson & Williams
Watson	Eva	We're New Zealand!	SS	1939	NZ – Christchurch	Presbytarian Bookroom
Watt	William	Arbroath Abbey	P	1919	UK – London	Erskine Macdonald
Watt	William	An Anzac's Moods	P	1919	UK – London	Erskine Macdonald
Watt	William	Home from Callao in a Hoodoo Ship	N	1933	UK – London	Heath Cranton
Watt	William	Fire Down Below	N	1935	UK – London	Frederick Muller
Webb	Alice	Miss Peter's Special	SS	1925	UK – London	Allenson
Wells	William	Poems	P	1930	NZ – Balclutha	Clutha Leader

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
West	Joyce	Sheep Kings	N	1936	NZ – Wellington	H. H. Tombs
Westerwood	Elan	Maoriana	P	1916	NZ – Dunedin	Whitcombe & Tombs
Weston	Jessie	Ko Meri, or, A Cycle of Cathay	N	1890	UK – London	Eden, Remington & Co
Wheeler	Edmund	A Cabinet Secret	N	1926	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
White	Palmer	Mystery Island	N	1930	UK – London	Chapman & Hall
White	David	Random Verse	P	1933	NZ – Wellington	Whitcombe & Tombs
Whyte	Anna	Change Your Sky	N	1935	UK – London	Hogarth
Whyte	Anna	Lights are Bright	N	1936	UK – London	Hogarth
Wigley	Mary	Some Southern Songs	P	1934	NZ – Auckland	Whitcombe & Tombs
Wilcox	Dora	Verses from Maoriland	P	1905	UK – London	Allen & Unwin
Wilcox	Dora	Rata and Mistletoe	P	1911	UK – London	Allen & Unwin
Wilkie	A. H.	Anzac	P	1934	NZ – Auckland	Reliance
Wilkinson	Iris	The Desolate Star	P	1929	NZ – Christchurch	Whitcombe & Tombs
Wilkinson	Iris	The Conquerors	P	1935	UK – London	Macmillan
Wilkinson	Iris	Wednesday's Children	N	1936	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Wilkinson	Iris	Passport to Hell	N	1936	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Wilkinson	Iris	Check to Your King	N	1936	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Wilkinson	Iris	Persephone in Winter	P	1937	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Wilkinson	Iris	The Godwits Fly	N	1938	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Wilkinson	Iris	Nor the Years Condemn	N	1938	UK – London	Hurst & Blackett
Williams	& Reeves	In Double Harness	P	1891	NZ – Christchurch	Lyttelton Times
Williams	George	New Chum's Letter Home	P	1904	NZ – Christchurch	Christchurch Press
Wilson	Anne	Alice Lauder	N	1893	UK – London	Osgood, McIlvaine & Co
Wilson	Anne	Two Summers	N	1900	UK – London	Harper & Brothers
Wilson	Anne	A Book of Verses	P	1901	UK – London	Stock
Wilson	Helen	Moonshine	N	1944	NZ – Wellington	Reed

Author surname	First name	Title of book	Type	Pub year	Pub place	Publisher
Winter	Cecil	The Story of ’Bidgee Queen	P	1929	Aus – Sydney	New Century
Woodhouse	Alice	Very Occasional Verses	P	1927	NZ – Wellington	Ferguson & Osborn
Wright	David McKee	Station Ballads	P	1897	NZ – Dunedin	Sawell
Wright	David McKee	Wisps of Tussock	P	1900	NZ – Oamaru	Fraser
Wright	David McKee	An Irish Heart	P	1918	Aus – Sydney	Angus & Robertson
Wright	Stanley	Dead Heat	N	1934	UK – London	Skeffington
Wright	Stanley	Oak Uprooted	N	1936	UK – London	Skeffington
Wright	Annie	Orewa: Floating Foam	P	1937	NZ – Auckland	Wilson & Horton
Wright	Annie	Romance of New Zealand	SS	1942	NZ – Auckland	Universal Business Directory
Wright	Annie	Aotearoa: Poems of the Soul	P	1945	NZ – Auckland	Universal Business Directory

Appendix B: "Prominent" authors[1]

Author name	D.O.B.	Birthplace	D.O.D	Died (place)	Travels[2]
Acheson, Frank	1887	NZ - Southland	1948		S
Adams, Arthur	1872	NZ - Lawrence, Otago	1936	Aus - Sydney	B
Andersen, Johannes	1873	Denmark - Jutland	1962	NZ - Auckland	Tr
Andrews, Isobel	1905	UK - Glasgow	1990	NZ - Auckland	S
Anthony, Frank	1891	NZ - Makaraka, Poverty Bay	1927	UK - London	B
Baker, Louisa	1856	UK- Aston, Warwickshire	1926	UK - Deal, Kent	L
Bathgate, Alexander	1845	UK - Peebles, Scotland	1930	NZ - Dunedin	S
Baughan, Blanche	1870	UK - Putney, Surrey	1958	NZ - Akaroa	Tr
Baume, Eric	1900	NZ - Auckland	1967	AU - Sydney	B
Baxter, James K	1926	NZ - Dunedin	1972	NZ - Auckland	S
Beaglehole, J C	1901	NZ - Wellington	1971	NZ - Wellington	R
Bethell, Ursula	1874	UK - Horsell, Surrey	1945	NZ - Christchurch	R
Bolitho, Hector	1897	NZ - Auckland	1974	UK - Brighton	L
Bracken, Thomas	1841	Ire - Clonee, County Meath	1896	NZ - Dunedin	S
Brasch, Charles	1909	NZ - Dunedin	1973	NZ - Dunedin	R
Brodie, John	1905	NZ - Paeroa	1955	NZ - enroute	L
Brown, J Macmillan	1845	UK - Irvine, Scotland	1935	NZ - Christchurch	Tr
Bullock, Margaret	1845	NZ - Auckland	1903	NZ - Wanganui	S
Burdon, Randal	1896	UK - Sussex	1965	NZ - Wellington	R

[1] This information was gathered from wherever available: the *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, individual biographies, internet sources and the literary papers of authors in various archives.

[2] S: those who never left New Zealand; Tr: those who left only for trips lasting for a year or less; R: those who left for a longer trip but returned permanently to New Zealand; B: those who left, came back and then returned permanently overseas; L: those who left and never came back. (p) indicates that the travel happened after 1945 and thus does not contribute to the statistics—the writer is counted as having stayed in New Zealand between 1890 and 1945.

Author name	D.O.B.	Birthplace	D.O.D	Died (place)	Travels
Burn, David	1862	Aus - Geelong, Victoria	1951		S
Church, Hubert	1857	Aus - Hobart	1932	Aus - Melbourne	B
Coad, Nellie	1883	NZ - New Plymouth	1974	UK - Essex	L
Colborne-Veel, Mary	1861	NZ - Christchurch	1923	NZ - Christchurch	S
Courage, James	1903	NZ - Christchurch	1963	UK - England	B
Courage, Sarah	1845	UK - Kent	1901	UK - England	S
Cresswell, D'Arcy	1903	NZ - Christchurch	1963	UK - England	B
Curnow, Allen	1911	NZ - Timaru	2001	NZ - Auckland	R (p)
Davin, Dan	1913	NZ - Invercargill	1990	UK - Oxford	L
de Montalk, Geoffrey	1903	NZ - Auckland	1997	France - Brignoles	L
Deamer, Dulcie	1890	NZ - Christchurch	1972	Aus - Randwick	L
Devanny, Jean	1894	NZ - Collingwood	1962	Aus - Townsville	L
Dowling, Basil	1910	NZ - Southbridge	2000	UK - England	L (p)
Duggan, Eileen	1894	NZ - Tuamarina, Malborough	1972	NZ - Wellington	S
Eden, Dorothy	1912	NZ - near Ashburton	1982	UK- London	L (p)
Elliot, Wilhelmina	1848	UK - Edinburgh	1944	NZ - Auckland	R
Escott, Margaret	1908	UK - Eltham, London	1977	NZ - Auckland	R
Fairburn, A. R. D.	1904	NZ - Auckland	1957	NZ - Auckland	R
Ferguson, Dugald	1833	UK - Scotland	1920	NZ - Auckland	S
Finlayson, Roderick	1904	NZ - Auckland	1992	NZ - Auckland	S
Gilbert, G. R.	1917	NZ - Greymouth	1994		S
Gilbert, Ruth	1917	NZ - Featherston			S
Gillespie, O. N.	1883	NZ - Waikari	1957		S
Glover, Denis	1912	NZ - Dunedin	1980	NZ - Wellington	R
Grace, Alfred	1867	NZ - Auckland	1942	NZ - Nelson	S
Grossmann, Edith	1863	Aus - Beechworth, Victoria	1931	NZ - Auckland	R

Author name	D.O.B.	Birthplace	D.O.D	Died (place)	Travels
Guthrie-Smith, Herbert	1862	UK - Helensburgh, Scotland	1940	NZ - Tutira	R
Hamilton, John	1827	UK - Scotland, Paisley	1893	NZ - Dunedin	S
Hart-Smith, William	1911	UK - Tunbridge Wells, Kent	1990	NZ - Auckland	L
Hervey, J. R.	1889	NZ - Invercargill	1958		S
Hodge, Merton	1903	NZ - Taruheru, Poverty Bay	1958		R
Holcroft, Monte	1902	NZ - Rangiora	1993	NZ - Rangiora	R
Hume, Fergus	1859	UK - England	1932	UK - Essex	L
Hunter, Edward	1885	UK - Rigside, Scotland	1959	UK - Glasgow	L
Hunter, Rex	1888	NZ - Southbrook	1960		L
Isitt, Kate	1876	NZ - New Plymouth	1955	UK - London	L
Jacobs, Henry	1824	UK - Isle of Wight	1901		S
Johnson, Louis	1924	NZ - Wellington	1988	UK - Winchester	R (p)
Joseph, George	1912	UK - Glasgow	1989		R
Kaye, Bannerman	1854	UK - Scotland	1923	NZ - Wellington	S
Kelly, James	1878	Ire - New Ross	1939	NZ - Hawera	S
Kelly, John	1850	UK - Airdrie, Scotland	1925	NZ - Auckland	S
Kenny, Alice	1875	NZ - Ngaruawahia	1960	NZ - Auckland	S
Langley, Eve	1904	Aus - Forbes, NSW	1974	Aus - North Katoomba	L(p)
Lawlor, Charlotte	1879	NZ - Thames	1941	NZ - Thames	S
Lawlor, Pat	1893	NZ - Wellington	1979	NZ - Auckland	R
Lawson, Will	1876	UK - Low Fell, Durham	1957	Aus - Randwick, NSW	B
Lee, John A	1891	NZ - Dunedin	1982	NZ - Auckland	R
Lyttleton, Edith	1873	Aus - Tasmania	1945	UK - London	B
Mackay, Jessie	1864	NZ - Rakaia Gorge	1938	NZ - Christchurch	Tr
Mactier, Susie	1854	UK	1936		S
Mander, Jane	1877	NZ - Ramarama	1949	NZ - Whangarei	R

Author name	D.O.B.	Birthplace	D.O.D	Died (place)	Travels
Mansfield, Katherine	1888	NZ - Wellington	1923	France - Fontainebleau	L
Marriott-Watson, Henry	1863	Aus - Melbourne	1921	UK - London	L
Marsh, Ngaio	1895	NZ - Christchurch	1982	NZ - Christchurch	R
Mason, Ron	1905	NZ - Auckland	1971	NZ - Auckland	S
McClelland, David	1884				L
Mulgan, Alan	1881	NZ - Katikati	1962	NZ - Lower Hutt	Tr
Mulgan, John	1911	NZ - Christchurch	1945	Egypt - Cairo	L
Nicholls, Marjory	1890	NZ - Wellington	1930	NZ - Wellington	Tr
Palmer, Charles	1872	NZ - Kaikoura	1935		S
Peacocke, Isabel	1881	NZ - Auckland	1973	NZ - Auckland	Tr
Perry, Stuart	1908	Aus - Melbourne	1982	NZ - Wellington	S
Poppelwell, Dugald	1863	NZ - Tokomairiro, Otago	1939	NZ - Gore	S
Purnell, Charles	1843	UK - London	1926	NZ - Ashburton	S
Rawlinson, Gloria	1918	Tonga	1995	NZ - Auckland	Tr (p)
Reed, Alexander W	1908	NZ - Auckland	1979	NZ - Wellington	S
Reed, Alfred H	1875	UK - Hayes, Middlesex	1975	NZ - Dunedin	S
Rees, Rosemary	1876	NZ - Auckland	1963	NZ - Gisborne	R
Reeves, William	1857	NZ - Lyttelton	1932	UK - London	L
Reid, John C	1916	NZ - Auckland	1972		Tr (p)
Reynolds, Rachel	1838	Aus - SA	1928	NZ - Dunedin	Tr
Richmond, Mary	1853	NZ - New Plymouth	1949	NZ - Wellington	R
Rollett, Hilda	1873	NZ - Auckland	1970	NZ - Auckland	Tr
Sargeson, Frank	1903	NZ - Hamilton	1982	NZ - Auckland	R
Satchell, William	1860	UK - London	1942	NZ - Auckland	S
Scanlan, Nelle	1882	NZ - Picton	1968	NZ - Wellington	R
Scott, Mary	1888	NZ - Waimate North	1979	NZ - Tokoroa	S

Author name	D.O.B.	Birthplace	D.O.D	Died (place)	Travels
Skey, William	1835	UK - London	1900	NZ - Wellington	S
Spear, Charles	1910	NZ - Otago	1985	UK - London	L (p)
Stewart, Douglas	1913	NZ - Eltham, Taranaki	1985	Aus - Sydney	L
Straubel, Carl	1906	NZ	1959	NZ - Canterbury	S
Terry, Lionel	1873	UK - Sandwich, Kent	1952	NZ - Seacliff	S
Thornton, Guy	1872	UK - Gloucestershire	1934	NZ - Auckland	R
Tobin, Charles	1879	NZ - New Plymouth	1921		R
Tregear, Edward	1846	UK - Southampton, Hampshire	1931	NZ - Picton	S
Twisleton, Henry	1847	UK - Winskill, Yorkshire	1905	NZ	S
Vogel, Julius	1835	UK - London	1899	UK - Surrey	L
Vogt, Anton	1914	Norway - Oslo	1984	France - Menton	L (p)
Wall, Arnold	1869	Sri Lanka - Ceylon	1966	NZ - Christchurch	S
Webb, Alice	1876	UK - Stockingford	1963		S
West, Joyce	1908	NZ - Auckland	1985		S
Weston, Jessie	1867	NZ - Auckland	1944		L
Wilcox, Dora	1873	NZ - Christchurch	1953	Aus - Sydney	L
Wilkinson, Iris	1906	SA - Cape Town	1939	UK - London	L
Williams, George Phipps	1847	UK - London	1909		S
Wilson, Anne Glenny	1848	Aus - Victoria	1930		Tr
Wilson, Helen	1869	NZ - Oamaru	1957	NZ - Hamilton	S
Wright, David McKee	1869	UK - Northern Ireland	1928	Aus - Glenbrook	L

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscript sources

Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington

Duggan, Eileen, Papers, MS Papers 0801.

Fairburn, A. R. D., Papers, MS Papers 1128.

Glover, Denis, Papers, MS Papers 418.

Heenan, Joseph, Papers, MS Papers 1132.

Holcroft, Monte, Papers, MS Papers 1186.

Holcroft, Monte, Notebooks, MSX-0253.

Lawlor, Patrick Anthony, Papers, Ref. 77-067.

Lyttleton, Edith, Papers, MS Papers 8649.

Mander, Jane, Papers, MS Papers 3404.

de Montalk, Geoffrey, Letters from Rex Fairburn, MS Papers 2461.

Mulgan, Alan, Papers, MS Papers 0224.

Scanlan, Nelle, Papers, MS Papers 0232.

Hocken Library (HL), Dunedin

Mason, R. A. K., Papers, MS Papers 592.

Brasch, Charles, Papers, MS Papers 996.

Macmillan Brown Library (MBL), Christchurch

Bethell, Ursula, Papers, MS 558.

Gilbert, G. R., Papers, MS 957.

Auckland Public Library (APL)

Mander, Jane, Papers, NZMS 535.

Mulgan, Alan, Papers, NZMS 748.

Bodleian Library Special Collections (BLSC), Oxford

Sidgwick and Jackson, Papers, MSS 142 (Ursula Bethell) and MSS 252 (William Satchell).

Oxford University Press Archives

Mulgan, John, personal file, Ref. CPGE 383.

University of Reading Special Collections (URSC)

Allen & Unwin, Papers, AURR.

Chatto & Windus, Papers, C/W.

British Library Additional Manuscripts (BL), London

Fea, Allen, Correspondence, Add. 49377, f. 284 (letters from William Satchell).

Schiff, Sydney, Correspondence, Add. 52919 (letters from Katherine Mansfield).

Richard Bentley & Son, Papers, Add. 46621, f. 327 (agreement with Clara Cheeseman).

Chesterton, G. K., Correspondence, Add. 73235, f. 134 (letters from Hector Bolitho).

Society of Authors Archive, Add. 56981, ff. 1-81 (Rosemary Rees vs. Walter Melville).

Literary periodicals and newspapers

All About Books
Art in New Zealand
The British-Australasian (or *British-Australian and New Zealander*)
The Sydney *Bulletin*
The Dominion
Evening Post
Landfall
The Lyttelton Times
New Zealand Illustrated Magazine
New Zealand Listener
Phoenix
The Christchurch *Press*
The Auckland *Star*
The Auckland *Sun*
The Christchurch *Sun*

Times Literary Supplement
Tomorrow
The Triad

Novels, poetry and memoirs

Baughan, Blanche, "Café Au Lait" (Brown Bread From a Colonial Oven), in O. N. Gillespie (ed), *New Zealand Short Stories* (London: Dent, 1930).

Bennett, Arnold, *Books and Persons: Being Comments on a Past Epoch, 1908-1911* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1917).

Bethell, Ursula, "The Long Harbour", *Time and Place* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1936).

Bethell, Ursula, Whiteford, Peter (ed.), *Vibrant With Words: The Letters of Ursula Bethell* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005).

Blackwell, Basil (ed.), *The Book World* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1935).

Bolitho, Hector, *My Restless Years* (London: Parrish, 1962).

Burton, Ormond Edward, *The New Zealand Division* (Auckland: Clark & Matheson, 1936).

Cadey, Prudence, *Broken Pattern* (London: Fenland Press, 1933).

Colbourne-Veel, Mary, *The Fairest of the Angels and Other Verse* (London: Horace Cox, 1894).

Courage, James, *The Call Home* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1956).

Curnow, Allen (ed.), *Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960).

Davin, Dan, *The Sullen Bell* (London: M. Joseph, 1956).

Devanny, Jean, *Point of Departure* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1986).

Devanny, Jean, *The Butcher Shop* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1981).

Domett, Alfred, *Ranolf and Amohia: A South Sea Day-dream* (London: Smith, Elder, 1872).

Duggan, Eileen, *New Zealand Bird Songs* (Wellington: Harry T. Tombs, 1929).

Duggan, Eileen, *Poems* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1937).

Duggan, Eileen, *More Poems* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1951).

Fairburn, A. R. D., Edmond, Lauris (ed.), *The Letters of A. R. D. Fairburn* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1981).

Glover, Denis, *The Arraignment of Paris* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1937).

Glover, Denis, *Hot Water Sailor; & Landlubber Ho!* (Auckland: Collins, 1981).

Grossmann, Edith Searle, *Hermione: A Knight of the Holy Ghost* (London: Watts, 1908).

Grossmann, Edith Searle, *The Heart of the Bush* (London: Sands, 1910).

Hellier, F., *Colonials in Khaki* (London: Murray & Evenden, 1916).

Hoggard, Noel, *The Inky Way* (Wellington: Handcraft Press, 1940).

Holcroft, Monte, "Who Travels Alone", *The Sun*, March 28, 1929.

Holcroft, Monte, *The Way of a Writer* (Whatamongo Bay, NZ: Cape Catley, 1984).

Hyde, Robin, *Journalese* (Auckland: National Printing Company, 1934).

Kenny, Alice A., *The Rebel* (Sydney: Macquarie Head Press, 1934).

Lawlor, Pat, *Confessions of a Journalist* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1935).

The Lyceum Club, London: A Prospectus (London, 1903), Bodleian Library Bookstack.

Lynn, David, *Love and Hunger* (London: Kangaroo Books, 1944).

Lyttleton, Edith, *Promenade* (London: John Lane, 1938).

Mackay, Jessie, *The Spirit of the Rangatira and Other Ballads* (Melbourne: Robertson, 1889).

Mackay, Jessie, *From the Maori Sea* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1904).

Mackay, Jessie, *Vigil* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1935).

Mander, Jane, "On Making Good", The *Sun* , Dec 4, 1924, p. 8.

Mander, Jane, *The Passionate Puritan* (London: John Lane, 1921).

Mander, Jane, *The Strange Attraction* (London: Bodley Head, 1923).

Mansfield, Katherine, *Journal of Katherine Mansfield* (Auckland: Hutchinson, 1984).

Marsh, Ngaio, *Black Beech and Honeydew* (London: Collins, 1981).

Mulgan, Alan, *Home: A New Zealander's Adventure* (London: Longmans, Green, 1927).

Mulgan, Alan, *The Making of a New Zealander* (Wellington: Reed, 1958).

Peacocke, Isabel, *The Guardian* (London: Ward, Lock, 1920).

Peacocke, Isabel, *London Called Them* (London: Ward, Lock, 1946).

Sargeson, Frank, *Sargeson* (Auckland: Penguin, 1981), Reprint of *Once is Enough* (first published Wellington: Reed, 1973), *More than Enough* (1975), and *Never Enough* (1978).

Satchell, William, *The Land of the Lost* (London: Methuen, 1902).

Scanlan, Nelle, *Ambition's Harvest* (London: Jarrold, 1935).

Scanlan, Nelle, *Road to Pencarrow* (London: Robert Hale, 1963).

Scott, Mary, *The Unwritten Book* (Wellington: Reed, 1957).

Scott, Mary, *Days that Have Been* (Auckland: Blackwood & J. Paul, 1966).

Smyth, Walter, *Jean of the Tussock Country* (London: Mills & Boon, 1928).

Wall, Arnold, *London Lost and Other Poems* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922).

Wilcox, Dora, "In London", *Verses from Maoriland* (London: George Allen, 1905).

Winks, Robin, *These New Zealanders* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1954).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books, articles and theses

Alpers, Anthony, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

Andersen, Johannes (ed.), *Annals of New Zealand Literature* (Wellington: New Zealand Authors' Week Committee, 1936).

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities* (London; New York: Verso, 1991).

Aston, Elaine and Clarke, Ian, "The Dangerous Woman of Melvillean Melodrama", *New Theatre Quarterly*, XII:45 (1996), pp. 30-42.

Barnicoat, Constance A., "The Reading of the Colonial Girl", *Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review*, 60:358 (1906), pp. 939-950.

Barnes, Felicity, "New Zealand's London: The Metropolis and New Zealand's Culture, 1890-1940", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 2008).

Barnes, John, *The Writer in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1969).

Barnes, John, "'Heaven forbid that I should think of treating with an English publisher': The Dilemma of Literary Nationalists in Federated Australia", Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison (eds.) *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: The British Library, 2007).

Barrowman, Rachel, *Mason: The Life of R. A. K. Mason* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2003).

Baughen, G. A. K., "C.N. Baeyertz and The Triad 1893-1915", BA(Hons) Thesis (University of Otago, 1980).

Belich, James, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the end of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin Press, 1996).

Belich, James, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001).

Bennett, Jack, "Introduction", in John Mulgan, *Report on Experience* (Auckland: Blackwood & Janet Paul, 1967).

Bertram, James, *Dan Davin* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Bertram, James, "Poetry Comes of Age", in Ray Knox (ed.), *New Zealand's Heritage* (Wellington: Paul Hamlyn, 1971-1973).

Bevan, David, *Literature and Exile* (Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1990).

Binney, Judith, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and his Community at Maungapohatu* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1979).

Broughton, W. S., *A. R. D. Fairburn* (Wellington: Reed, 1968).

Burns, Rebecca, "Snapshot of a Life Reassessed: Edith Searle Grossmann", *Kōtare: New Zealand Notes and Queries* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2009).

Byrnes, Giselle (ed.), The New Oxford History of New Zealand (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Calder, Alex, "Introduction", *The Writing of New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed, 1993).

Challis, Derek and Rawlinson, Gloria, *The Book of Iris* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002).

Chapman, Robert, "Fiction and the Social Pattern", *Landfall* 7:1 (March 1953), pp.26-58.

Coney, Sandra, "Riemke Ensing on Women Writers", *Broadsheet*, 22 (1974), p. 12.

Connolly, C. N., "Class, Birthplaces, Loyalty: Australian Attitudes to the Boer War", *Historical Studies*, 18:11 (1978).

Curnow, Allen, "Introduction", *A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-1945* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1945), pp. 13-55.

Daley, Caroline, "Indecent Exposure?", *Leisure and Pleasure: Reshaping and Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003).

Dalziel, Raewyn, "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 11: 2 (1977), pp. 112-23.

Dalziel, Raewyn, "Presenting the Enfranchisement of New Zealand Women Abroad", in Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan (eds.), *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994).

Davidoff, Leonore, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Cresset Library, 1986).

de la Mare, Frederick, *G. B. Lancaster 1873-1945: A Tribute* (Hamilton: Waikato Times, 1945).

de Montalk, Stephanie, *Unquiet World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001).

Denoon, Donald, and Mein Smith, Philippa, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000).

Eddy, John and Schreuder, Deryck, *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa First Assert Their Identities* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988).

Eder, Doris L., *Three Writers in Exile: Pound, Eliot and Joyce* (Troy, N.Y: Whitston, 1984).

Elder, Charlotte, "An Annotated Edition of the Correspondence Between Ursula Bethell and John Schroder", MA Thesis (Victoria University, 1999).

Evans, Patrick, *Penguin History of New Zealand Literature* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990).

Evans, Patrick, *The Long Forgetting* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2007).

Fairburn, Miles, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989).

Fairburn, Miles, "Is There A Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?" *Thesis Eleven*, 92 (2008), pp. 29-49.

Feather, John, *A History of British Publishing* (London; New York: Routledge, 1988).

French, Anne, "Georgians and New Zealand Georgians: a Study of Eileen Duggan and R. A. K. Mason, and New Zealand Poetry of the Twenties and Thirties in the Context of Georgian Poetry in England", MA Thesis (Victoria University, 1979).

Garner, Jean, *By His Own Merits* (Hororata: Dryden Press, 1995).

Gibbons, Peter, "The Far Side of the Search For Identity", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37:1 (2003), pp. 38-49.

Glover, Denis, "Pointers to Parnassus: A Consideration of the Morepork and the Muse", *Tomorrow* 2 (1935).

Goldberg, Samuel Louis and Smith, Francis Barrymore, *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Gonley, Winnie, "New Zealand Life in Contemporary Literature", MA Thesis (University of New Zealand, 1932).

Gurr, Andrew, *Writers in Exile: The Identity of Home in Modern Literature* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981).

Griffith, Penny, Harvey, Ross and Maslen, Keith (eds.), *Book and Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997).

Hamilton, Stephen, "New Zealand English Language Periodicals of Literary Interest Active 1920s-1960s", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995).

Hankin, Cherry (ed.), *Life in a Young Colony: Selections from Early New Zealand Writing* (Christchurch: Whitcoulls, 1981).

Hawke, G. R., *The Making of New Zealand: An Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Hempenstall, Peter, Mein Smith, Philippa and Goldfinch, Shaun, *Remaking the Tasman World* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2008).

Hilliard, Chris, "Island Stories", MA Thesis (University of Auckland, 1997).

Hilliard, Chris, "Colonial Culture and the Province of Cultural History", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36:1 (2002).

Hilliard, Chris, *The Bookmen's Dominion* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006).

Holcroft, Monte, *The Deepening Stream* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1940).

Holcroft, Monte, *Discovered Isles: A Trilogy* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1950).

Holcroft, Monte, "A Professional Expatriate", in Ray Knox (ed.), *New Zealand's Heritage* 6 (Wellington: Paul Hamlyn, c1973), p. 2210.

Holcroft, Monte, *Mary Ursula Bethell*, New Zealand Writers and their Work (Wellington; New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Hurst, Maurice, *Music and the Stage: A Century of Entertainment 1840-1943* (Charles Begg: Auckland, 1944).

Jensen, Kai, *Whole Men* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996).

Johanson, Graeme, *Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843-1972* (Wellington: Elibank Press, 2000).

Jones, Lawrence, "'Mulgan, Marris, Schroder': Repudiating the Literary Establishment", in Penny Griffith, Peter Hughes, and Alan Loney (eds.) *A Book in the Hand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000).

Jones, Lawrence, *Picking Up the Traces: The Making of a New Zealand Literary Culture 1932-1945* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2003).

Karim, Karim H., *The Definition of Visible Minority: A Historical and Cultural Analysis* (Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage, 1996).

Kavolis, Vytautas, "Women Writers in Exile", *World Literature Today*, 66:1 (1992), pp. 43-6.

Keesing, Nancy, *Australian Writers and Their Work: Douglas Stewart* (Sydney: Lansdowne Press, 1965).

Kemp, Sandra, Mitchell, Charlotte and Trotter, David, *The Oxford Companion to Edwardian Fiction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, c1997).

Lee, John, "'A Private History': Towards a Biography of James Courage, Expatriate New Zealand Writer", MA Thesis (Victoria University, 2001).

Louis, W. M. Roger, "Introduction", *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Lyons, Martyn and Arnold, John (eds.), *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945: A National Culture in a Colonised Market* (St Lucia, Qsld: University of Queensland Press, 2001).

Macdonald, Peter D., *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice*, 1880-1914 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Mackay, F. M., *New Zealand Writers and their Work: Eileen Duggan* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Marshall, Theresia, "New Zealand Literature in the Sydney *Bulletin*", PhD Thesis (University of Auckland, 1995).

Maurois, Andre, *Points of View: From Kipling to Graham Greene* (London: Frederick Muller, 1969).

McCormick, Eric, *Letters and Art in New Zealand* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940).

McCormick, Eric, *The Expatriate: A Study of Frances Hodgkins* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1954).

McEldowney, Dennis, "Publishing, Patronage and Literary Magazines", Terry Sturm (ed.), *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

McEldowney, W. J., *The New Zealand Library Association 1910-1960 and its Part in New Zealand Library Development* (Wellington: New Zealand Library Association, 1962).

McGregor, Rae, *The Story of a New Zealand Writer: Jane Mander* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1998).

McKay, Frank, *Eileen Duggan: New Zealand Writers and Their Work* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1977).

McLean, Denis, Review of Dance of the Peacocks, *New Zealand International Review*, 29 (2004).

McLeod, Aorewa, "A Home in this World: Why New Zealand Women Stopped Writing", *Women's Studies Journal*, 14:2 (1998), pp. 61-76.

McNeish, James, *Dance of the Peacocks: New Zealanders in Exile at the Time of Hitler and Mao Tse-tung* (Auckland: Vintage, 2003).

Milbauer, Asher Z., *Transcending Exile: Conrad, Nabokov, I.B. Singer* (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1985).

Millar, Paul, *No Fretful Sleeper: A Life of Bill Pearson* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010).

Modjeska, Drusilla, *Exiles at Home: Australian Women Writers 1925-1945* (London: Sirius Books, 1981).

Mulgan, Alan, *Literature and Authorship in New Zealand* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1943).

Murray, Heather, "Celebrating Our Writers: 1936, 1951", *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 10 (1992), pp. 99-114.

Murray, Stuart, *Never a Soul at Home: New Zealand Literary Nationalism and the 1930's* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998).

Murray, Stuart, "Review of *Story of a New Zealand Writer*", *Landfall*, 197 (1999), p. 156.

Nash, Andrew, "Literary Culture and Literary Publishing in Inter-War Britain: A View from Chatto & Windus", Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison (ed.), *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: British Library, 2007), pp.323-341.

Needham-Gillespie, Dulcie, "The Colonial and His Books: A Study of Reading in Nineteenth Century New Zealand", PhD Thesis (Victoria University, 1971).

New Zealand Department of Censuses and Statistics, *General Report, Population Census* (Wellington: Department of Censuses and Statistics, 1926 and 1936).

New Zealand Department of Censuses and Statistics, *The New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1934 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1933).

Newton, John, "Colonialism Above the Snowline, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 34:85 (1999), pp. 85-96.

O'Neill, Reginald, *The Press, 1861-1961: the Story of a Newspaper* (Christchurch: Christchurch Press, 1963).

O'Sullivan, Vincent, *Long Journey to the Border* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003).

O'Sullivan, Vincent, "Katherine Mansfield: the Exile of the Mind", in Luyat, Anne and Tolron, Francine (eds.), *Flight from Certainty: The Dilemma of Identity and Exile* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 134-9.

Ogilvie, Gordon, *Denis Glover: His Life* (Auckland: Godwit, 1999).

Ovenden, Keith, *A Fighting Withdrawal: The Life of Dan Davin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Pearson, Bill, *Henry Lawson Among Maoris* (Wellington: Reed, 1968).

Phillips, A. A., "The Cultural Cringe", *Meanjin*, 4, 1950, pp. 299-300.

Phillips, Jock, "Musings in Maoriland - or Was There a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand?" *Historical Studies*, 20:81 (1983).

Phillips, Jock, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male, a History* (Auckland: Penguin, 1987).

Phillips, Jock, "Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24:2 (1990), pp. 118-134.

Plumridge, Elizabeth, "The Negotiation of Circumstance: New Zealand Women Artists c1890-1914", PhD Thesis (Australian National University, 1985).

Pocock, J. G. A., *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Reeves, William Pember, *The Long White Cloud* (London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1898).

Rhodes, Winston, *New Zealand Novels* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1969).

Rice, Geoffrey (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Robinson, Howard, *A History of the Post Office in New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1964).

Robinson, Roger and Wattie, Nelson (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Rochester, Maxine, *The Revolution in New Zealand Librarianship: American Influence as Facilitated by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in the 1930s*, Occasional Papers Series, 50 (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Dalhousie University, School of Library and Information Studies, 1990).

Rogers, Anna and Rogers, Max, *Turning the Pages: The Story of Bookselling in New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed, 1993).

Ronnie, Mary, *Books to the People: A History of Regional Library Services in New Zealand* (Wellington: New Zealand Library Association, 1993).

Rushdie, Salman, *Imaginary Homelands* (London: Viking, 1991).

Russell, Roslyn, *Literary Links: Celebrating the Literary Relationship between Australia and Britain* (St. Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1997).

Sargeson, Frank, "The Feminine Tradition", broadcast on 1YA, 28 July 1948, printed in the *New Zealand Listener*, 19:476 (6 Aug 1948).

Scholefield, Guy H., *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington: Reed, 1958).

Sinclair, Keith, *A History of New Zealand* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1959).

Sinclair, Keith (ed.), *Distance Looks Our Way* (Auckland: Paul's Book Arcade, 1961).

Sinclair, Keith, *A Destiny Apart* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986).

Smith, Angela, *Katherine Mansfield and Virginia Woolf: A Public of Two* (New York; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

Smithies, James, "Modernism or Exile: E. H. McCormick and *Letters and Art in New Zealand*", *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 39:3 (2004), pp. 93-106.

Stafford, Jane, "Fashioned Intimacies: Maoriland and Colonial Modernity", *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 37:31 (2002), pp. 31-48.

Stafford, Jane, and Williams, Mark, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006).

Sturm, Terry, "Introduction", in Frank Anthony, *Follow the Call* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1975).

Sturm, Terry, *An Unsettled Spirit: the Life and Frontier Fiction of Edith Lyttleton (G. B. Lancaster)* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003).

Sturm, Terry (ed.), *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Sullivan, Alvin, *British Literary Magazines, V3: The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837-1913* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1983-1986).

Sutch, W. B., "Libraries for All", *Tomorrow*, 2:1 (1935), p. 5.

Traue, J. E., "The Public Library Explosion in Colonial New Zealand", *Libraries and the Cultural Record*, 42:2 (2007), pp. 151-164.

Trevelyan, Jill, "'Perfectly Fairy-godmotherish': The Friendship of Toss Woollaston and Ursula Bethell", *Kotāre* 4:1 (2001).

Trussell, Denys, *Fairburn* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1984).

Turner, Dorothea, *Jane Mander* (New York: Twayne, 1972).

Vincent, David, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Waite, Noel, *Adventure and Art: The Caxton Press* (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand, 1998).

Waller, Philip, *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1918* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Wedde, Ian "Introduction", *The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse* (Auckland: Penguin, 1985), pp. 23-52.

Wevers, Lydia, "Books: Are New Zealand and Australia Part of the Same Literary Community?" in Bruce Brown (ed.), *New Zealand and Australia: Where Are We Going?* (Wellington, 2001).

Wevers, Lydia, *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2010).

Whiteford, Peter, "Secrets of Felicity: Letters of Ursula Bethell", *New Zealand Electronic Poetry Centre* http://www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz/authors/bethell/letters03.asp (updated 7 Aug 2005).

Willcox, Walter F. and Ferenczi, Imre, *International Migrations V1* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1969).

Wilson, Phillip, *William Satchell* (New York: Twayne Publishing, 1968).

Wild, Judith, "The Literary Periodical in New Zealand", MA Thesis (Victoria University College, 1951).

Woolf, Virginia, *A Room of One's Own* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Woollacott, Angela, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Woollaston, Toss, *Sage Tea* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2001).

Wright, F. W. Neilsen, *Theories of Style in the Schroder-Marris School of Poets in Aotearoa: an Essay in Formal Stylistics With Particular Reference to the Poets Eileen Duggan, Robin Hyde and Ruth Gilbert* (Wellington: Cultural and Political Booklets, 2001).

Young, David, "Courage in Exile", *New Zealand Listener*, 101:2211 (1982), p. 24.

Internet sources

Australian Dictionary of Biography, http://adbonline.anu.edu.au.

Bartle, Rhonda, "John Brodie: New Plymouth's Neglected Author", *Puke Ariki*, http://www.pukeariki.com/Research/TaranakiStories/TaranakiStory/id/105/title/john-brodie-new-plymouths-neglected-author.aspx.

Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Population and Vital Statistics* (Melbourne, 1920), http://www.abs.gov.au.

Cable Bay Holiday Park, *History of Cable Bay Station*, http://www.cablebayfarm.co.nz/history2.html (updated 8 Sept 2009).

Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/.

Glass, Hayden and Choy, Wai Kin, "Brain Drain or Brain Exchange?", *Treasury Working Paper 01/22*, http://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/research-policy/wp/2001/01-22/twp01-22.pdf (2001).

Kotāre: New Zealand Notes and Queries (Wellington: Victoria University), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-corpus-kotare.html.

McLintock, A. H. (ed.), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,* 1966, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage, *New Zealand History Online*, http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/.

Oxford English Dictionary Online, http://dictionary.oed.com (2010).

Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand Archives Research Centre, *Register of New Zealand Presbyterian Church Ministers, Deaconesses & Missionaries from 1840*, http://www.presbyterian.org.nz/archives/Page159.htm.

Leggott, Michele, and Flaherty, Brian (eds.), *New Zealand Electronic Poetry Centre*, University of Auckland, http://www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz.

New Zealand Electronic Text Centre http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/metadata-tei-JCB-008.html.

US Census Bureau, "Population, Housing Units, Area Measurements, and Density: 1790 to 1990", http://www.census.gov/population/.